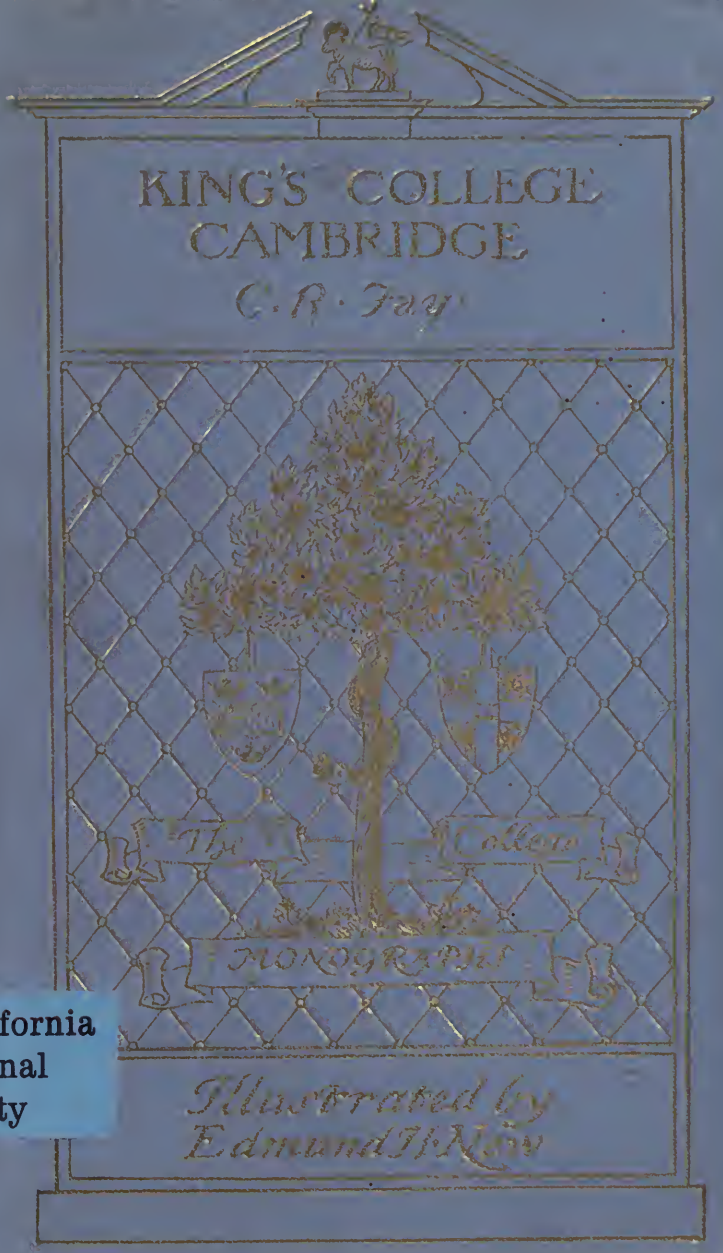

The College

Monographs

THE COLLEGE
MONOGRAPHS
Edited and Illustrated by
EDMUND H. NEW

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
W. W. ROUSE BALL.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
THE SENIOR BURSAR.

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
C. R. FAY.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD
THE PRESIDENT.

NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD
A. O. PRICKARD.

MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD
REV. H. J. WHITE.

KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL

KING'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

BY

C. R. FAY

SCHOLAR OF THE COLLEGE

ILLUSTRATED BY

EDMUND H. NEW

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NOTE

THE extent of my indebtedness to the Architectural History of the University of Cambridge by Willis and Clark will be obvious to students of that work.

The Provost (Dr. M. R. James), with whose approval I have written this monograph, has been kind enough to read through the manuscript and to add an Appendix in explanation of the Chapel Windows.

I have to thank Mr. F. L. Clarke for the Index.

C. R. FAY,
Scholar of the College.

January 1907.

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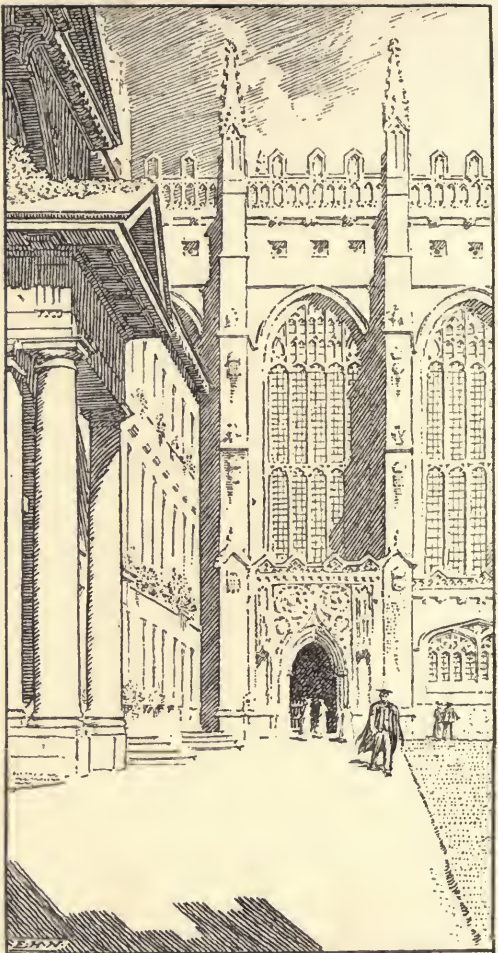


Chapel & Gibbs's Buildings.

King's College

CHAPTER I

TO-DAY AND IN 1440

THE visitor to Cambridge, as he enters the town by way of Trumpington Street, passes a number of Colleges—Peterhouse, Pembroke, Corpus Christi, and St. Catharine's—which command more or less of his attention. As he crosses past Bene't Street into the King's Parade he comes suddenly upon a great pile of buildings to the left, enclosed behind a long ivy-clad screen, which covers almost wastefully a frontal of several hundred feet. Entering by the gateway of the Porter's Lodge, which, with its slender octagonal dome and stack of twelve independent pinnacles, has been compared to a decanter and wine-glasses, he sees before him a spacious court, in the middle of which is a fountain, and upon the pedestal of the fountain a figure cast in bronze, sad and pensive, bearing in his outstretched hand a roll of parchment. This is the charter with which King Henry VI., on the 12th day of February, A.D. 1440, founded to the glory of God, and of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Nicholas, his royal college of Cambridge. Around are the buildings that bear the name of his foundation.

One of them, which occupies the whole length of the north side of the court, towers above the rest—the College Chapel—planned and executed according to the founder's own design. It is a unique structure, cathedral in size, chapel in plan. The style is rich perpendicular, marking the point where the last Gothic meets the earliest Renaissance. The twelve great bays with their flying buttresses look sheer upon the lawn. Within and without the College the Chapel dominates and dwarfs the buildings around it. Seen from Trinity Street on a moonlight night, when flakes of cloud hurry across its pinnacles, it seems like the weather-beaten sentinel of Time, silent and unchanging. Or on a summer afternoon, at the close of the Sunday service, when the west door is thrown open and the sun floods in, illuminating the delicately fanned roof and colouring the rich glass in the long range of windows, while the music of the great organ rushes out into the bright air, there seems to speak the harmony of mediæval religion, imaginative, fervent, aspiring.

The other buildings of the court, the work of later and more prosaic generations, confess an inability to challenge on equal terms. Gibbs's building, on the west side, instinct indeed with harmonious beauty, looks stately and severe, on a wet day almost frigidly pale. Its unshapely, discoloured chimneys were not designed by the architect. Wilkins's building, to the south, is Gothic of the nineteenth century, complete, yet rather uninspiring, some-

thing like the strictly-matched frills of an ample dame. The Dining Hall, which occupies the greater part of the range, is among the largest of the College Halls. The roof is of plaster, cleverly coloured to produce the appearance of wood. On the oak-panelled walls hang portraits of famous Kingsmen, three of them by Hubert Herkomer—Henry Bradshaw, Librarian of the University; Dr. Okes, the last Provost but one; and Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, cousin of George Canning. The familiar faces of Sir Robert Walpole in the centre and his son Horace on the right look down upon the daïs or high table.

Clustered behind Wilkins's buildings are the Kitchens, Chetwynd Court, the Lane, and Scott's building, with its commanding frontal on King's Parade, all manifestly additions.

From Gibbs's archway, which with untraversed ground on either side looks rather meaningless, the great back lawn opens out to view; to the north, the compact and faultless buildings of Clare; to the south, in considerable contrast, the continuation of Wilkins's buildings, the Library (which contains about 30,000 volumes acquired, with a few exceptions, since 1644), and the Provost's Lodge, with their extended fronts. Close by the river, sheltered by four huge elms, lies New King's, Bodley's Court, built fourteen years ago in a pleasing Gothic style.

Let the visitor pause by the Porter's Lodge at the corner of Bodley's Court and mark the view across the lawn: the grey stone

of Gibbs's, almost white in the glare of the sun: the western front of the Chapel, with its richly ornamented porch and great window above: in the corner, behind the railings of Clare, the yellow stone of the University Library, its rare gateway barely visible—the

THE COURT

original gateway of Old King's. Or let him stand upon the bridge and look around: to the south, the quaint wooden bridge and grove of Queens': to the north, Clare Bridge, with its cannon balls of stone: beyond, the Town Bridge: beyond again, the bridge of Trinity College: eastward, the wide stretch of green grass: westward, the Scholars' Piece,

with its broken, elm-studded causeway standing out against the dark thick avenue of the Backs, or enveloped on an autumn evening in a purple haze. Lovelier prospects rarely meet the eye.

Such is the College to-day. How different in 1440! Cockerell's building of the University Library—for nearly four centuries the Old Court of King's—was a garden belonging to Trinity Hall. King's Parade was called High Street. To the north of the site of the Porter's Lodge, exactly opposite St. Edward's Passage, ran Piron Lane, striking another lane to the left of Gibbs's archway. The chapel site was occupied by three separate properties—the choir by the quarters of Lincoln the draper and St. Thomas' Hostel; the antechapel by a Grammar College, called God's House, reaching down to Piron Lane. The Porter's Lodge was a "vicarage house of St. Edward, called St. Edward's Hostel."

Gibbs's buildings would have looked on various grounds. Staircase "H" on the property of the White Canons of Sempringham; "G" on that of the nuns of St. Rhadegund; "F" on a tenement of Bartholomew Morris of Trinity Hall. From north to south over the site of Gibbs's itself ran Milne Street, one of the main roads into Cambridge.

Then to the west, where is now the single stretch of the back lawn, was a church, three hostels, and some common ground. The Church of St. John Zachary stood due west of the antechapel, its altar resting on the western severy. (There was in the

fifteenth century another Church of St. John Baptist built to replace this one just to the north of Old Court.) Bodley's Court was the garden of the Carmelites. The College kitchens a hostel of St. Austin. The buildings about King's Lane two taverns, "Le Boreshede" and the White Horse Inn of Reformation fame.

This was the ground on the eve of the foundation. The small site of Old Court King Henry presented to his College in 1441; the larger site, so far, roughly speaking, as the line of King's Lane and the Provost's Lodge, in 1449. The remainder to the south was acquired by later generations.

And if the site of King's was different then, Cambridge in general offered as contrasted a picture. Peterhouse, Clare, Pembroke, Gonville and Caius, Trinity Hall and Corpus Christi alone of the Cambridge Colleges were in existence. St. Catharine's College was a group of dwellings. Queen's College, or the College of St. Bernard, wanted as yet its second Queen and its larger site of the Carmelites' ground. Trinity College, represented only by the separated foundations of King's Hall and Michael House, waited for amalgamation under Henry VIII. Emmanuel College was the dwelling of Dominican Friars. Jesus College the disorderly home of the nuns of St. Rhadegund. No Senate House; no University Library; St. Mary's existent, yet not in its present form. Market Square rough and hilly ground round which Erasmus

could canter for his afternoon's exercise nearly a century afterwards.

On this site, in this environment, moved by motives unknown—perhaps by the inspiration of his natal saint, Nicholas, protector of the young, perhaps by the promptings of his Bishop Tutor, perhaps by the spirit of the age and his own aversion to warlike things — King Henry VI. determined to build.

CHAPTER II

THE OLD COURT AND THE OLD PROVOST'S LODGE

ON the late garden of Trinity Hall, the first stone of the Old Court of King's was laid by the founder himself, on Passion Sunday, the 2nd of April 1441.

The site was cramped and irregular. Milne Street, the western boundary, bent inward at its northern limit, and thus prevented the erection of the buildings in a true square. On the eastern side stood the schools of Theology and Canon Law, against which it was impossible to build at all. Hence the old court was three-sided, the north side contracted at the western corner and slightly overlapping the schools on the eastern corner. Perhaps these limitations of space account for the adoption of three floors in the range of chambers instead of the usual two.

But the buildings were never properly finished. The court was so small—40 yards by 25—that the founder was petitioned to find a larger site. This he did; with the result that the original buildings were hastily completed in a temporary manner for use until the larger college was built. But the larger design was itself left unfinished, so that the temporary buildings of the old court became the permanent habitation of the College up to

the beginning of the last century. This break in the scheme was apparent in the architecture. The southern side and the western, from the

THE ORIGINAL GATE OF ENTRANCE

south as far as the gateway, which were completed under the founder's direction, were of fine and beautiful proportions, manifestly the work of a first-rate architect; the remainder, completed later, was poor and unsubstantial.

In 1829, when the new buildings had come into use, Old Court was sold to the University, and the buildings thereon demolished, to make way for an extension of the University Library. One piece alone escaped, the old unfinished Gate of Entrance—"a venerable and beautiful specimen of architecture"—which the University had not the heart to destroy. It was therefore incorporated with the new library building, and stands thus at the present day. The stone of the original gateway, as well as some fragments of the walls to the north and south, is plainly distinguishable from the rest.

This, the main gate of entrance, stood in the centre of the west front. The south and west sides were occupied by chambers. The Hall was near the east end of the north side, and was entered by a picturesque wooden porch. Westward of it stood a timber house containing the Butteries, and a room called "The Bursars' Parlour," in which the three Bursars dined together apart from the other Fellows. The Treasury was above the main gate of entrance, occupying the first floor. It still contains an original stone fireplace of excellent workmanship and in good preservation. At the eastern extremity of the south side there was a passage into the grounds south of the College, called "Cow Lane." This passage led to the old chapel, which stood immediately to the south of the Old Court, and to the north of the present chapel.

The chambers on the west and south side were approached by stone staircases in the form of octagonal turrets projecting from the inner

walls of the quadrangle, instead of by the usual internal staircases. The ground floor was appropriated chiefly to the scholars—four to a room. The two upper storeys were occupied by the fellows, of whom two were lodged in each room. The buildings were thus made to provide sufficient accommodation for the seventy poor scholars of King Henry's larger design; from which it is clear that Old Court, though begun for the first foundation of thirteen members, was not completed until the second scheme had been adopted.

So for three centuries and a half Old Court stood incomplete, but unchanged, while the larger site outside was gradually assuming the appearance of Modern King's.

One of the last residents in Old Court—the Rev. W. H. Tucker, but lately dead—has described Old Court between 1822–1825, during his years of residence as a scholar: "Our Court," he writes, "was not an imposing structure, save in its beautiful gateway. Along the eastern length ran the University wall—plain, sheer, casemated and unadorned. The Hall was moderate in size and of no style; panelled and painted, with a central stove. It had five tables—four for dining, the fifth for hats and caps. Always very popular, and deservedly so on feast days. The Courts were wholly unpaved, rough gravelled, and rather grotesque under its ancient and modern look; with its bricklayer's white-sided schools, tiled Hall, and red-bricked wall, screening the lower side of the modern kitchens. But we cared little for all that. We were free: it was our Alsatia: and we

did pretty much as we liked. We had it all to ourselves."

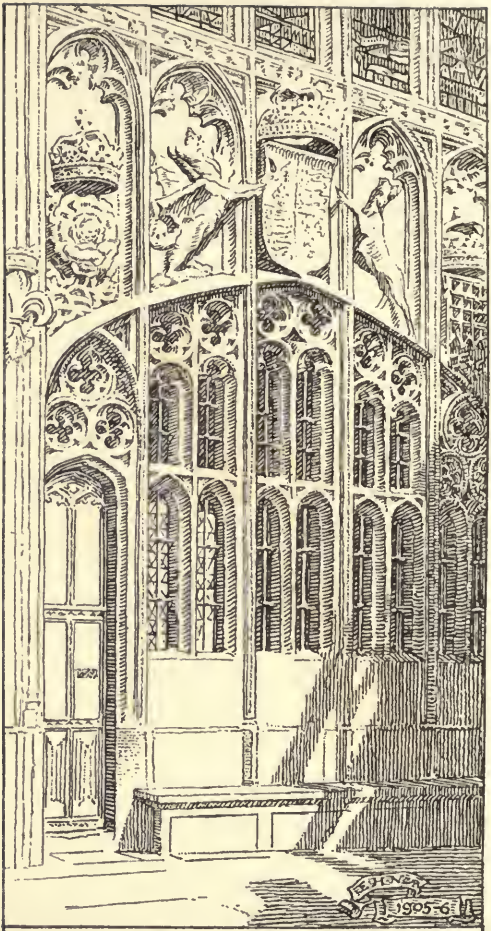
The Freshman started life on the ground floor. Mr. Tucker had rooms on the right hand of the Old Gateway. "The sitting-room was not an inviting room. Large, low, square-marked walls, of a tint between lemon and Seville orange; rusty grate in the corner, and one small-paned window. A threefold deal bookcase of bluish-grey with dabs of ox-tongues nearly filled up one side; bookcase legacied from tenant to tenant, for which I had to pay my chum at his valuation."

The Chum, or second year man, who looked after the Freshman below, lived on the first floor in pleasanter chambers, "handsomely panelled in oak, but painted in modern times." The top storey was at this time used as lumber rooms "uninhabited in the memory of man." The mullioned windows were all fitted with curtains of moreen—at first grey, afterwards, as age advanced, dyed scarlet; handed down from tenant to tenant, fixtures for all time.

Such was Old Court in 1825; but its doom was sealed, and ten years later it was no more.

The tenth of the Founder's Statutes directs that a distinct and separate dwelling-house is to be assigned to the Provost, in order that his diverse occupations in the despatch of College business may not interrupt the Fellows and Scholars. And accordingly such a house was built as early as 1450, between the High Street (King's Parade) and the present chapel. It was here that Queen Elizabeth was lodged on

her visit to the College. The building was on several occasions altered and extended. In its last period it occupied the ground east of the chapel, which is now enclosed between the screen and iron railings. A plain brick wall at that time sheltered it from the street. Mr. Tucker gives a picture of the Lodge three years before its demolition: "Viewed from the lawn, the Lodge presented to the eye a largish dark-red brick tiled house, many windows broad; unsightly, but not uncommon. . . . The rooms of the Lodge, to which we were at any time admitted, were low, large, and panelled. One in particular was well remembered by all of us. It was the room in which we were assembled *en masse* at the end of every Term to hear our merits. . . ." This was in 1825. A few years more and the Lodge was taken down. There is a new Provost's Lodge on a different site. It does not contain a tribunal before which undergraduates are terminally arraigned.



BAY *in King's College* CHAPEL

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDER'S DESIGN AND THE CHAPEL

IN answer to the representations of the Provost and twelve Scholars for the provision of further accommodation, King Henry VI. began in 1443 the acquisition of the larger and present site of King's College. A few years later the ground was cleared and made ready for building. In 1448 the founder published the details of his larger design in a document which is noteworthy for the splendour of its conception, the elaboration of its provisions, and the solemn dignity of its utterance. This is King Henry's "will"; not, however, a testament, but simply a record of what the King calls in the opening sentence "My wille and myne entent" with respect to the arrangements and completion of his two Royal Colleges of Eton and Cambridge. It declares the new design which he had matured to supersede his earlier scheme of a little College unconnected with any school. One half of the clauses, therefore, refer to Eton College and one half to the College at Cambridge. The provisions in the Will are concerned solely with the design of the buildings and the payment of the requisite funds, just as the Statutes, which he published in the following year, prescribe the organisation and life of the twin societies which

were to inhabit them. The design for Eton College is beyond the scope of this narrative. The design for the King's College at Cambridge, as noble as that for Eton, yet less happy in its fate, will be briefly described.

The buildings were to be grouped around a great quadrangle on the site, roughly speaking, of the present front court: on the north the chapel; on the east dwelling-rooms broken by a gate of entrance from High Street; on the south the dwelling-rooms continued and the Provost's lodge; on the west the library and the hall with buttery attached. Behind the hall a kitchen court, about which were grouped bake-house, kitchen, and offices. Behind the library and the west end of the chapel, and somewhat removed from them, a cloister cemetery, and to the west a tower built out from the cemetery. Between the cemetery and the kitchen courts a path leading to the river, and spanning the river a bridge. The buildings in the court were to abut on each other, not being detached, as are the buildings there to-day. Until the erection of Wilkins's buildings at the beginning of the last century, the eastermost bay of the south side of the chapel was still left unfinished; the upper half of the window was glazed, the lower made up with panelling. The octagonal turret of the corner had a rough surface of toothings, waiting for the buildings which never came.

The chambers on the south and east side, which were to be built in three floors, were fifty-four in all, or about twice as many as in the Old Court. The hall, as at Eton, was

raised on a vaulted cellar, and was reached by a tower staircase. The library was also placed on the upper storey, with a lumber room above and a room below for lecturing and disputations. Though the cloister was not built, the ground was consecrated, and used for burials for many years. It was reserved for the fellows, scholars, chaplains and clerks, only the higher dignitaries being granted the honour of interment in the chapel.

The design is characterised by true mediæval asymmetry. The gatehouse neither in the middle of the eastern range nor corresponding with the passage towards the river opposite; the Hall at the south end of the western range; the Cloister, with the magnificent tower, which would have been the grandest architectural monument of Cambridge, in no symmetrical connection with the chapel. The whole nevertheless attaining a harmony bolder and more pleasing than the stilted symmetry of later ages.

And yet this monument of high and holy thought, this cherished will of Henry, feeble king and mighty architect, was to perish, still-born well-nigh all of it, before the strife of dynasties and the sluggishness of the times; against which could not avail the closing words of the founder's most solemn charge, admonishing of "the terrible comminations and full fearful imprecations of holy scripture agayns the brekers of the lawe of God and the letters of goode and holy werkes," as each must answer "before the blessed and dredeful visage of our Lord Jhesu in his most fereful and last dome,

when euery man shall most strictly be examined and demed after his demeritees."

Of the great design conceived by the founder, the chapel is the only part that was carried out. The first stone was laid by the king in person at the altar site on Saint James' Day, 25th July 1446. But the defeat of the king at the battle of Towton in 1461, and the subsequent overthrow of the Lancaster dynasty checked progress. Some little was done under Edward IV. Richard III. resumed the work with vigour, but in his short reign of three years he could not do more than finish off the portion of the work begun by his predecessors. When he died in 1485, it is probable that the five eastern bays had been completed and covered with a timber roof. This part of the building was possibly now opened for church services, although the earlier and smaller chapel to the north of the present building still served the Kingsmen on ordinary occasions.

Thus the chapel stood for more than twenty years, the great choir unvaulted, without turrets or pinnacles, flanked to the north and south by smaller chapels all without battlements, some unvaulted. But the idea was there, the stimulus was given, and it remained for a later generation only to imitate and complete. To whom the plan was originally due is a matter of some doubt. John Langton, chancellor, Nicholas Close, one of the six original fellows, Robert Wodelarke, also an original fellow, and Provost from 1452–1479, held successively the office of "magister operum" under Henry VI.; and of these three tradition has singled out Nicholas

Close for the honour of architect, because he received a special grant of arms from Henry VI. "for the laudable services rendered by him in many ways, both in the works of the building of our College royal and in other matters." But as these three men were all ecclesiastics, it seems more reasonable to suppose that they exercised (no doubt with greater efficiency) the functions of the modern building committee; and that they merely supervised the work of a master mason, who was responsible for the actual plans. This master was in all probability Reginald Ely, appointed by royal patent "to press masons, carpenters, and other workers." John Woolrich in 1476 and John Sturgeon in 1483 were his successors in the post. It was not till the last year but one of his reign that King Henry VII., moved perhaps to emulate the liberal example of his pious mother, the Lady Margaret, made several large grants of money to the College, which enabled contracts to be drawn up for the completion of the chapel. John Wastell was master mason, and his overseership—extending from 1508 to 1515, into the seventh year of King Henry VIII.'s reign—brought the stone-work of the chapel to completion. The total cost in the present value of money amounted to £160,000, of which two-thirds was spent in the reign of Henry VIII.

The chapel is 289 feet long, 40 feet wide from pier to pier, and 80 feet high from the floor to the central point of the stone vault, in almost exact accordance with the provision of the founder's will.

Low chapels occupy the spaces between the buttresses on both sides of the main building, with the exception of one bay at the east and two at the west end, which were left vacant in anticipation of the quadrangle, which had been planned to connect with the chapel at the east and west corners. The will directs that there shall be "betwix every of the same boteraces in the body (*i.e.* the antechapel) of the chirche, on both sides of the same chirche, a closette with an auter therein." The design actually employed differs from the will in two respects. First, the side chapels are continued along the choir, as well as the antechapel; secondly, they were not all furnished with altars. The two most easterly at least were designed for vestries to take the place of the separate vestry on the north directed in the will; for they not only occupy the usual position of those offices, but are entered from the presbytery through richly moulded doorways. Most of the remainder were used as chantries until the time of the Reformation.

The first chapel on the south side next to the door of entrance contains tablets to Provosts Sumner and Thackeray. The second is known as Hacumblen's chapel, and in it there is a brass marking the place of his burial. This chapel also contains the tomb of the great Duke of Marlborough's only son, John Churchill, Marquis of Blandford, who died of the small-pox in 1702, while resident in the college as a fellow-commoner. The third chapel is Brassie's Chapel, the Provost of that name having been buried here in 1558. The six chapels along

the south side of the choir contained the college books, until the present library was built by Wilkins. One of them is now the music library, the remainder the muniment rooms, where the college records are kept.

There are two pieces of interesting furniture here—the old money chest, at present filled with a heap of ancient papers; and a wooden case with a glass front, like a sentry-box, in which a malefactor was entombed (the bodies of malefactors were devoted in earlier times to purposes of anatomy), until a later and more kindly generation committed his relics to the ground. The chapels on the north side are used as store, heating, and vestment rooms. In one of them is stored a fifteenth-century pulpit, which is used once a year, on March 25, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, when a member of the society preaches in the chapel before the University.

In the main fabric there are four features of peculiar interest, which illustrate the gradual growth of the building, and mark the interval between the different styles.

First of all the composition of the stone. It is of different kinds. The white magnesian limestone, from Thefdale or Hudleston, in Yorkshire, the supply of which was exhausted by King Henry VI.'s death, shows the work done during his reign. It is used in the basement, and in portions of all the walls, rising higher on the eastward than on the westward half; higher, too, on the north (which would look on the Old Court of King's) than on the south. Inside it is used to some extent in the

partition walls of the different side chapels. Hence it is clear that the whole chapel was set out at the beginning, in close correspondence with the dimensions assigned to it in the will, and the presence of the white stone in the

THE COLLEGE FROM THE BACKS

walls of the side chapels on the north and south sides of the choir proves that their erection was not an afterthought, but a change of plan adopted from the first. The second kind of stone with which the chapel was, with certain exceptions, completed is oolite from Welldon, in Northamptonshire, and Clipsham, in Rutlandshire. It was first used towards the end

of Edward IV.'s reign. The exceptions are the vaults of the north and south porches, and the west door-case. Here the stone is again magnesian limestone, but coming from the Yorkshire quarry of Hampole, and more yellow in colour.

As late as 1771, it was possible to observe on the main beam opposite to the fifth buttress the coating of moss which had collected in the long interval in Henry VII.'s reign, when the chapel was left half-finished for twenty years. This has now disappeared, but the west side of the beam in question is in quite a different state from any of the others, or from its own eastern face, being much worn and decayed, as if from long exposure to the weather.

Secondly, the burial directions contained in the wills of fellows and others. In Henry VI.'s reign they were to be buried "in the grave-yard of the College." From 1458 onwards the wills usually appoint some site within the Chapel walls, in the Choir, main or side Chapels of the "new Collegiate Church." In earlier times there was a considerable number of burials in the Choir. The later burials have been in the great vault beneath the ante-chapel. This was opened for the last time for Provost Okes, in 1888. His initials, R. O., are inserted in the pavement, close by the south door of entrance. On the opposite side of the aisle "C. S., 1836," and "H. B., 1886" mark the resting-places of Charles Simeon and Henry Bradshaw.

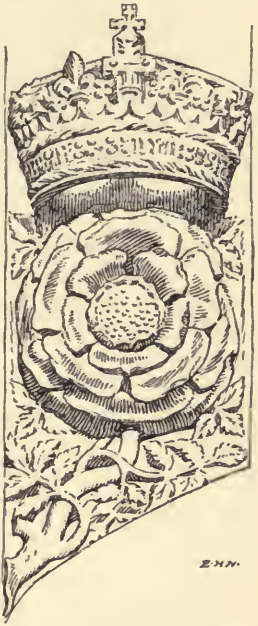
Thirdly, the vaulting of the main and side chapels. The great vault, as it is now seen, is

a remarkably fine specimen of the fan-vault. But there seems little doubt that a different kind of vaulting was originally contemplated. In the first place, fan-vaulting did not come into fashion until after King Henry VI.'s death. Secondly, Reginald Ely, the first master mason, if he took for his model, as is probable, the Lady Chapel at Ely, would have arched the vault, and thus avoided the great space which now exists between the top of the windows and the spring of the vaulting. Thirdly, in the two most easterly chapels on the north side, which were among the first to be erected, the earlier and simpler form of "lierne" or "stellar" vaulting is employed. Moreover, in the piers of the main chapel there is one member at present unemployed, which would have been needed in lierne vaulting; while in one of the side chapels (Brassie's) the corresponding member has been chiselled away.

Hence it may be concluded that lierne vaulting was originally designed for the main vaulting and piers built to support it. But in 1476, John Woolrich, the new master mason, discarded the original design in favour of the new fan-vaulting, which was then coming into fashion: and his successors, who completed the work, followed the same model. This explains the gap between the top of the windows and the roof. The windows, some of which were already finished, could not be raised. Therefore the wall was carried above them to support the comparatively flat fan-vaulting.

Lastly, the ornamentation of the stone-work.

In Henry VI.'s work in the choir the style is pure, in accordance with his will that the "edification of my same College procede in large fourme clere and substancial, setting a parte superfluite of too gret curious werkes of entaille and besy moldyng." As the building proceeds westward it is enriched, if not overloaded with ornamentation, bearing in most cases Tudor emblems. The double niches in the windows and the heraldic badges carved profusely on the interior and exterior of the antechapel (only) are examples of the exuberance of detail which marks the last stage of perpendicular architecture.



TUDOR ROSE AND CROWN

The design of the chapel was new in English architecture, but not absolutely original, for in the cathedral of Albi, in southern France, as well as in two churches at Toulouse, vast buttresses supporting a great vault are in the same way supported themselves by chantry chapels. But the vaulting of the later design is of a kind peculiarly

English; it reappears in the Lady Chapel at Ely, in Bath Abbey, in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, and in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster.

The fittings of the chapel may be described under four heads: the Woodwork, the Altar, the Pavement, and the Windows. The last will be treated in a separate appendix.

Rood Loft.—The will of the founder provides for a Rood loft with thirty-six stalls on each side, which, together with those placed against the Rood loft, are to accommodate seventy fellows and ten conducts. There is no mention of the substalls, which were there from the first, and they were evidently not intended; for it is directed in the statute that if distinguished strangers were present they were to occupy some of the stalls, while the fellows stood below. The stalls, which were reduced in number to sixty, were not equipped with canopies, except those adjoining the screen. But the walls throughout were probably covered with hangings. There is no evidence that a rood was ever erected. The Reformation, of course, rendered it undesirable.

The screen is the work of foreign, perhaps Italian, artists. The upper part of the organ loft is ornamented with roses, fleurs-de-lis, and portcullises. The under side of the projection which carries it bears devices, in which "A" occurs beside the royal letters. The letter refers to Anne Boleyn, the second wife of Henry VIII., and supplies the date of the work, 1531–1535, during which period

her influence was at its height. Here occurs also her badge—a crowned falcon holding a sceptre, with a bunch of roses before him. The lower part of the screen is divided into six bays by pilasters carrying round arches. On the bay adjacent to the south wall and looking on the antechapel is a crowned shield, which has the arms of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn impaled. The ornamentation, with its arabesque and foliage, exhibits throughout the most exquisite variety of detail. On the doors of the screen are carved the arms of Charles I., crowned and supported by a lion and an unicorn, this portion forming the top of the gate. They are the work of the carver Woodroffe, and bear the date 1636.

Organ and Organ Case. — The organ case, so far as the general design is concerned, may be referred to René Harris and dated 1688, but he very probably used portions of the case of the older organs, the first of which was set up by Dallam in 1606 (although portions of the present case have been held, and with good reason, to go back to the days of Henry VIII.). In 1859 the organ was much enlarged by Messrs. Hill. At this time, also, the angels holding trumpets were placed on the north-west and south-west corners, in imitation of an older design, which was superseded by pinnacles during a portion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Stalls. — On a boss in the back of the Provost's stall there are the letters H. R. A. S. intertwined, and in the Vice-Provost's stall a

griffin, with the letters R. A. Both these emblems mark the time of Anne Boleyn.

The stall work, however, was not completed along the north and south sides until the reign of Charles I., when Thomas Weaver, in 1633, gave the large coats of arms carved in elmwood which form the back of the stalls, together with the pilasters which form the framework.

The canopies over the stalls and the panel work east of them were executed by Cornelius Austin (1675–1679).

Altar and Ritual Arrangement. The present altar-piece is the fifth that has occupied the place. The first high altar, erected in 1545, was removed four years later on the publication of King Edward VI.'s first Prayer-book. A second of Caroline date was removed during the Civil Wars. Of a third a faint indication may be seen in Loggan's view of the interior of the chapel. The fourth altar was erected in 1770, by Mr. Essex, who at the same time continued the oak panelling on the north and south walls, and flanked the east window with two stone niches.

But about 1870 a movement was set on foot for erecting a reredos and completing the east end generally. This led to the execution, under Mr. Garner, of a new altar table, consisting of a black marble slab, resting on carved alabaster supports, which was first used on Advent Sunday 1902 : the old altar table being removed to the south side. The reredos has been a more difficult question. The first design of an elaborate carved stone Gothic screen had to be abandoned from lack of funds : then

the tapestried hangings, which are now in the College hall, were tried, but considered unsatisfactory, owing in part to the difficulty of matching them with the colours of the windows. The present design, which is now being tested in plaster, consists of Renaissance wood-work panels, with pairs of Corinthian columns, between which are to be three statues, of Our Lord and of the two patron saints of the foundation, Saints Mary and Nicholas. On the north has been placed the picture which formerly occupied the space behind the altar: The Deposition, by Daniele da Volterra. It was presented by Frederick, Earl of Carlisle, in 1780.

The lectern, beautifully wrought in latten, the ordinary material of the old sepulchral "brasses," was the gift of Provost Hacumblen (1509–1526).

PAVEMENT.—Dr. Caius mentions, among the benefactions of Henry VIII., a marble pavement, which was no doubt laid in the choir. Among the muniments are three receipts, amounting to £28, of moneys paid in 1547 and the year following to John Bere, freemason, for hewing, squaring, and polishing of marble stone. It was transferred to the antechapel in 1702, when the present choir pavement of English marble, in white and black squares, was set down.

At the reception of Queen Elizabeth in 1564, it is recorded that "the place between the north, south, and west doors of the Church was strewed with rushes, being not paved." This quarter never contained more than a strip

of pavement until the whole of the antechapel was repaved, in 1774, with the Portland stone which is now seen. Lord Godolphin, says the antiquary Cole, happened to enter the chapel while the alterations were going on and generously subscribed an additional £400. For this gift the Provost was desired by the College "to express their grateful Sense of it Immediately, reserving the more solemn acknowledgment of it to the future meeting of the Society at their Sealing."

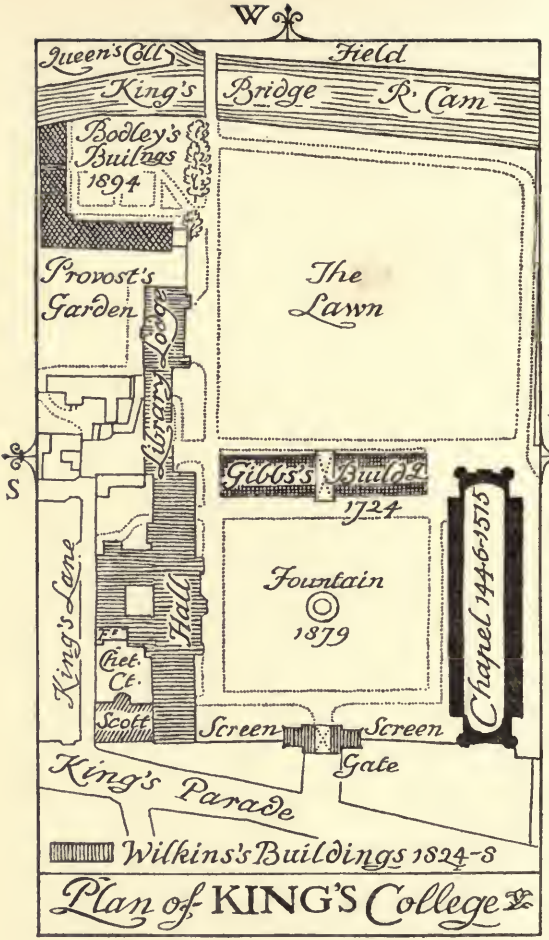
There are two aggressors which threaten the safety of a beautiful building—the hand of Time and the hand of Man. The latter, if more intermittent, is always more savage and unlovely in its assaults. From both, however, the chapel has been singularly immune. The stone-work, unlike the crumbling material of so many Oxford Colleges, is hard and has weathered well. Having survived to the age of systematic repair, it will suffer from nothing more catastrophic than the gradual wear of the material itself.

The architects, although they failed to complete the founder's design, built nobly and lastingly in the one side which they carried out. Two small buildings, which must have been familiar to the attendants of the chapel service in the earlier centuries, are now gone; but they were both of wood and never intended to be more than temporary. These were the Belfry and the Clock House. Five bells were sent by the founder: according to one tradition the gifts of Pope Calixtus III., according to another the spoil of a French

convent after Agincourt. These, or rather a new set which soon replaced them, were kept until 1754, when they were sold, being cracked and useless, and the proceeds applied to the fund for Gibbs's building. During most of this time they were lodged in a wooden belfry to the west of the chapel, though to the east of the site on which the large Campanile of the cloisters, designed but never executed, was to have stood. The belfry was pulled down shortly before the bells were sold.

The clock house, a wooden building with a tiled roof surmounted by a tapering spire, was placed at the north-east corner of the chapel, probably because the entrance to the College from Trumpington Street was then by a way which would now run between the chapel and the University Library. In 1817 it was removed in consequence of a College agreement "that the clock and pent house be taken down and sold, and the windows in that part of the chapel be replaced *in statu quo*." The clock is now in St. Giles' Church, Cambridge.

To outsiders the pride of Kingsmen in their chapel may appear something sentimental. Yet for those who live continually beneath its shadows, this building, the sole survival of the great original design, is as the voice of the founder speaking from the past: "This is my meaning and my model for you; build and think up to this."



Plan of KING'S College

CHAPTER IV

LATER BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

FOR more than two hundred years the extent of College buildings remained the same—the Old Court north of the Chapel, the Chapel itself, the Provost's Lodge and the Clerk's Lodgings adjoining it on the south-east. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century a movement was set on foot for completing the founder's quadrangle, of which the chapel was the northern side. This step was important in the architectural history of the College. It changed the centre of College life from the northern to the southern side of the chapel. The building now to be erected, called Gibbs's buildings after the architect, was at first an outpost, but gradually became the centre of the King's of to-day. It sometimes startles the mind to reflect how different a picture was present to four centuries of Kingsmen from that which now meets the eye.

The necessity of adding to the dreary and insufficient accommodation of Old Court had for some time been forcing itself on enterprising Kingsmen. One of these, Lord Dartmouth, wrote to Provost Copleston in 1686 suggesting the establishment of a building fund, and promising his personal assistance.

John Adams, the next Provost but one, took

up the scheme with energy. It was agreed to start the fund with money to be obtained from the sale of the timber of Toft Monks Wood in Norfolk. The surplus, after providing for the repairs necessitated by a recent fire in the Old Court, was solemnly devoted to the new scheme. "If any member of the said College," the agreement runs, "shall be so wicked as to propose or promote the finding or applying to any other use or purpose whatsoever (unless in case of fire, which God forbid) either the said money or any other that shall rise from the selling of timber which shall be found upon any of the College Estates, we will discover and oppose him to the utmost of our power."

The provision of means having been arranged, no time was lost in obtaining plans. The Provost had an interview with Sir Christopher Wren at the house of Mr. Nicholas Hawkesmore, a pupil of the latter, and an architect of some reputation. After a preliminary discussion Hawkesmore presented plans and models, which had been prepared at Sir Christopher Wren's, and which therefore must have had his sanction. The two models are now in the Muniment Room. He proposed not only to complete the Quadrangle (with arcades) to the south of the chapel, but also to build a Cloister and Bell Tower to the west; to continue the old line of King's Lane to the river; to place a new Provost's Lodge on one side of it, and on the other a brewhouse and stables. The plans also included bridges and gardens. Upon this model for the east and west sides of the Court the Provost had certain criticisms

to offer. The ornamentation was excessive. The six disengaged columns flanking the central porticoes lacked proportion with the rest of the building. The studies on the west side were lighted by small oblong windows looking on to the Court, instead of facing the river, as was eventually the arrangement in Gibbs's building. Last, but not least, it was too costly. "The most expensive part will be ye cloyster, but it is ye hardest for Mr. Hawkesmoor to Part withal."

Why this plan was not adopted is unknown. A few years later Provost Adams, who had been the centre of enthusiasm, died, and the scheme languished for ten years until a new architect was found in James Gibbs, who erected the building that bears his name. Like the chapel, Gibbs's building is only a part of a larger design that was never carried out, and the faults, if there be any, are due to this circumstance rather than to any defect in the architect's work. Three separate blocks of buildings were to complete the front Court, the south building being the exact length of the series of the side chapels opposite, while the east and west sides were a little longer. The style adopted was the Italian, then in fashion, and the whole design would have been an excellent specimen of it, as the plates of what was intended and the portions built testify. The architect thus describes the portion erected and the arrangements for the rest of the design :—

"It is built of Portland stone, and is detached from the Chapel as being a different kind of

building, and also to prevent damage by any accident of fire. . . . The College, as designed, will consist of Four sides, viz.—The Chapel, a beautiful Building, of the Gothick taste, but the finest I ever saw; opposite to which is proposed the Hall with a Portico. On one side of the Hall is to be the Provost's Lodge, with proper Apartments. On the other side are the Buttry, Kitchen, &c. In the West Side fronting the river now built are twenty-four Apartments, each consisting of three rooms and a vaulted Cellar. The East Side is to contain the like number of Apartments." Some statuary designed for the adornment of the western building, including a recumbent figure on each slope of the pediments of the portico, had to be omitted from lack of means.

Although the funds were not sufficient for the whole of Gibbs's design, the College determined to begin the work at once. The first stone was laid on 25th of March 1723. After service in the chapel, the Provost (Dr. Snape, at this time Vice-Chancellor), accompanied by the noblemen, heads of Colleges, Doctors, and other members of the University, proceeded to the corner of the foundation, next the chapel, and performed the ceremony. The inscription on the stone is in Latin, and gives the traditional history of the block itself. It translates as follows :—

"Student of Antiquity, who one day, in searching the ruins of this building, mayst perchance bring to light this plate enclosed in stone, know that in the time of Henry VI. the block was destined for the fabric of this College.

Civil disturbance first, afterwards the shameful death of that most noble king, long delayed the unfinished work, and for nearly three centuries, if tradition is true, it has lain in the adjacent space half-sawn ; now, at last, on the 25th day of March, in the 1724th year of salvation, and 10th of the reign of his most excellent majesty King George, the work has been resumed under new auspices, and that stone which found no place in the previous structure has become the foundation-stone of the west side of the great court. The contributions of the College itself to this work, the additional assistance afforded to it, the names of its patrons,—these things, solemn commemoration and written record, more lasting than this bronze, will disclose to posterity."

The building, which occupied six years, exhausted the funds, so that the cost of the wainscotting and fittings, which were done by Mr. Essex, had to be met by loans from other colleges, room-rents charged to the fellows, and the sale of the old chapel bells. The debt was eventually extinguished by a bequest from Mr. Hungerford, who left to the College his property of Upavon in Wiltshire.

For a long while after its completion, Gibbs's building was not a favourite with Kingsmen. Cole writing in 1750 remarks that, though the College had certainly needed more accommodation, and the building itself was a great ornament to the University, yet the rents charged were so burdensome that "ever since I have inhabited the new building, now about sixteen years, not half of the rooms have been

let; but the fellows choose rather to inhabit the old building, where they pay nothing for their chambers, and are nearer the hall, and within reach of the bedmakers and servants; the distance from which makes the new building very inconvenient, besides the new apartments are so sumptuous and grand that it requires more than the narrow appointment of a Fellow of the College to fit them up in such a manner as would become them." It is even said that the buildings were used by the dons as stables for their horses. It is certainly true that not so long ago one student here kept fowls in his rooms.

Charles Simeon lived in this building during his long residence at King's; first in the southern rooms on the ground floor of the staircase farthest from the chapel, and afterwards in the set above the central archway with a large semicircular window looking towards the town (the present Vice-Provost's rooms). The iron rail may still be seen which in his old age was placed on the staircase to assist him in the long ascent. It is known as "The Saint's Rest."

Another century passed away before the quadrangle, twice fully designed and twice stayed at the completion of a single side, was finished in 1828 by William Wilkins, after consultations with a committee of architects. His work, executed in Rutland stone, consists first of the Screen and Porter's Lodge on the east, and of the Hall, flanked by dwelling-rooms on the south; secondly, of the Library and present Provost's Lodge, which are a

continuation of the southern wing of the quadrangle westwards towards the river. The architects, abandoning the Italian model of Gibbs, adopted a Gothic style, and succeeded in filling a large area somewhat wastefully.

As usual, the original plan differed in certain respects from the subsequent execution. There was to have been a cloister behind the screen, which would have formed an independent mass of building separated from the Chapel on the north, and the Hall range on the south by gateways; a second Fellows' Garden would have occupied the angle between Trumpington Street and King's Lane (the site of Scott's building); the Library would have stood at right angles to the Hall at its west end; and lastly, the Provost's Lodge would have been separated from the remainder of the range by a Cloister occupying the site of the present library. But the most interesting of the omitted items was an addendum to Wilkins's plans as finally accepted by the College:—"Agreed that when the above contract shall be completely executed, the Provost be hereby authorised to enter into another Contract with any person or persons he may think fit to Gothicise Gibbs's Building, according to plan originally proposed by Mr. Wilkins." This wonderful conception was never executed.

Wilkins's Gothic was characterised by an exaggerated symmetry, which took the form of "two of everything." There was to be a gate at each end of the screen. The one on the south for the admission of carriages; the other on the north a dummy. In the Hall

were two galleries and two lanterns (the latter by special decree of the College). There were also to have been two oriel windows. The general design of the Hall was derived from Crosby Hall, London.

The growth of the College consequent on the reformation of its constitution in 1862 necessitated further building. The site chosen was the space between the new King's Lane and the south-eastern block of Wilkins's buildings. The old lane described in Wilkins's time, "as a detestable and filthy alley, nowhere more than thirteen feet in breadth, and near its entrance in Trumpington Street not quite ten feet," started from the same place as the present one at its western extremity, but so much inclined to the north in its eastward course that it entered Trumpington Street at a point about seventy feet to the north of the opening of the present lane. The College, therefore, in 1823, having negotiated for the purchase of all the houses in the old lane not already belonging to it, built the new lane and enclosed the vacant space. But Mr. Cory, the proprietor of the house fronting Trumpington Street—the old residence of John Canterbury, which had been presented to St. Catharine's College by Dr. Wodelarke, its founder—suddenly raised his price to so exorbitant a height, that the acquisition of the frontal building became, for the time being, impossible; and accordingly the court at the back of Wilkins's buildings was made twenty-two feet narrower than had been intended.

However, in 1869 the house was bought from Mr. Cory's executors for £4000, and demolished along with the eastern entrance of the old lane, which had been left to suit Mr. Cory's convenience. In 1871 the buildings known as Scott's building were begun by Sir G. G. Scott, and the court at the back

ORIEL, FROM KING'S LANE

was named "Chetwynd" Court, after Walter Chetwynd, a senior fellow, who left a legacy for building purposes, which was used in great part to defray the ensuing costs.

In 1876 the apartments on the south side of King's Lane, which had been built in flats for the College servants, were fitted up as rooms for undergraduates.

But the College was now growing fast, and extensions on a larger scale were necessary. Two rival schemes were put forward, one for the purchase of the Bull Hotel, the other for the substitution of a range of buildings in the place of Wilkins's Screen, as had been the design in earlier times both of the founder and of James Gibbs. Both plans, however, came to nothing. The first, which would have been a profitable investment for the College financially, through the veto of the Copyhold Commissioners; the second through the withdrawal at the critical moment of its supporters. Almost in despair negotiations were opened for amalgamation with St. Catharine's College, which owed its foundation to a Provost of King's. But the lesser college, perhaps fearing absorption, declined.

For the next few years large schemes were abandoned, but in 1883 Mr. Fawcett was commissioned to build a lecture room and a few sets of chambers opposite Scott's buildings on the west side of the Chetwynd Court. In this, the first regular lecture room built in King's, Dr. Westcott, then professorial fellow of the College, delivered an inaugural address on October 13, 1885. In early days the Chapel, the Hall, the Library, and even Fellows' rooms, had been used for the purpose. A further lecture room has since been added by the appropriation of the back drawing-room of the Provost's Lodge, which had in Provost Thackeray's days been used by the College as its audit room.

In 1889 the big building scheme was at last

carried through, but the site was altogether different from that of earlier proposals. On the plot of ground, which had been the kitchen garden of the Provost's Lodge, facing the river, two wings of a three-sided court designed by Mr. G. F. Bodley were built with Lincolnshire stone at a cost of £30,000. The completion of the third side is not at present contemplated, perhaps from reluctance to destroy the fine row of elms which occupies the site, or from apprehensions of being unable to improve upon an effect which is admittedly very attractive. Building extension in the immediate future will probably take place in the neighbourhood of the old stables, at the south-east side of the Provost's Lodge, where King's and Queens' Lanes meet.

The history of the buildings reflects in an instructive way the history of the society. The King's of more than four centuries a small court, crouching beneath the over-towering chapel, the ever-present witness of the founder's great design; and living within that court the small society, exclusive, familiar, not undistinguished, yet always threatening to fall short of the educational ideal entrusted to them. The King's of to-day, a strange and unknown dwelling to those Kingsmen of earlier ages, save where on the then south, now north, the great chapel stands, a cherished link between old and new, transmitting the memory of the closer past to the wider keeping of the open future, at once urging forward and pointing back, bidding to greater things, yet reminding of the source

whence the conception came; each building within the College area the work of a different age, as much an earnest of intention as a record of achievement. The old dwellings gone, the new unfinished; more than half the chambers less than four decades old. It is the picture of an ancient foundation, newly, almost hurriedly roused to discharge the wider duties of the present.

The College grounds to-day naturally contrast in appearance with those of two centuries ago. Just as the beginning of modern King's is marked by Gibbs's work in the buildings, so also it is marked in the grounds by the laying down of the two great lawns, which Gibbs's buildings separate.

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century there was a clear space from the eastern border of the College to the river, broken only by avenues of trees and small enclosures for gardens. The whole of the ground was called "Church Yard" or "Chapel Yard," and the portion nearest the river "Le Grene," the total area being about the same as at the present day.

In the year 1580 an avenue of trees had been planted along the way which led from Queens' Lane gate to the west door of the chapel, on the ground now occupied by Gibbs's buildings. This cut Chapel Yard into the two halves, which now form the front and back courts. At right angles to this avenue ran a second across the middle of the back court, at the end of which stood the old bridge, erected by George Tompson in 1627, "of the best

and most durable freestone."[1] It was a picturesque structure of two spans, with an arch on the College side closed by a gate and surmounted by a tiled coping. On the far side of the Cam the central avenue was continued on a raised causeway till it reached the west ditch at Field's Gate, which was provided with a wooden bridge. The remnants of the causeway and avenue still remain, the two mounds and clumps of trees in the centre. The few great elms stand, bent and rather lonely, sighing for their former stateliness, when they were part of the great central avenue of King's, which extended from the field gate to the site of Gibbs's building. On the south side of the mound the ground is still very muddy—churned indeed into mud on some damp afternoons in the Lent term. Here in the old "grove," in earlier times, was a pond with an island, which was later drained and converted into an orchard. The ground on the north was a meadow, used for the pasture of the College horses, and sometimes called "The geldinges close." The whole was later named the Scholars' Piece, as belonging to them, rather than to the Provost or Fellows.

In the middle of the eighteenth century began the change to the present form.

[1] I have here followed J. W. Clark. Cooper, however, in his "Annals of Cambridge," vol. iii. p. 341, suggests that in the year 1642–3, when Cambridge was fortified, King's College bridge was destroyed, and he gives as his authority, "Querela Cantabrigiensis." In this case the bridge taken down in 1819 must have been put up in the latter half of the 17th century. (*Cf.* White's "Cambridge Visitors' Guide," p. 76, where 1672 is assigned as the precise date.)

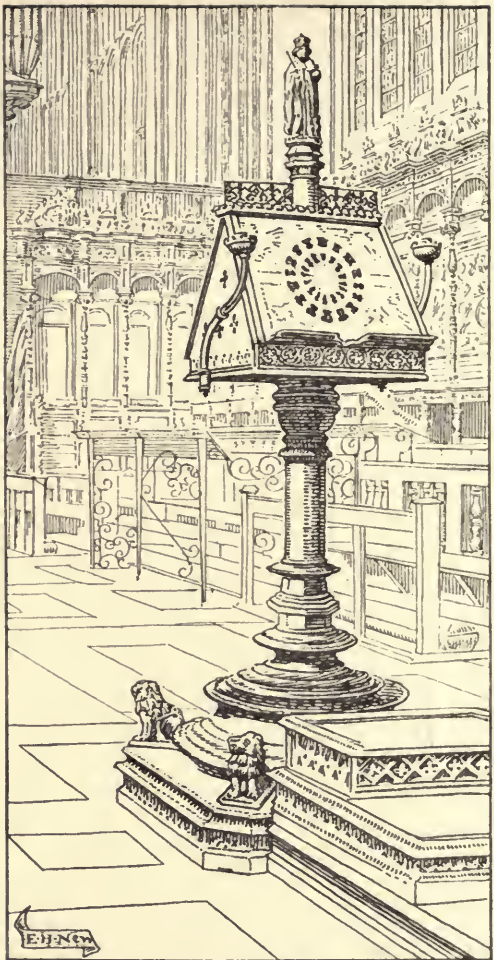
The two great lawns were laid down, first in the front Court, in "the upper part of the Chapell Yard," afterwards in the back Court, where the gardens were removed and the avenues cut down.

By the year 1818 the old bridge was deemed by the surveyor to be "in such a ruinous state that in all probability it will soon fall into the river and impede the navigation." The bridge was therefore rebuilt, not in the old position according to the original intention, but at the suggestion of the Rev. Charles Simeon, in its present position, in a line with the avenue planted some sixty years previously, on the south side of the back lawn. At the same time the avenue was continued on the west bank, and gates erected at the point where it abutted on the road. These are the Avenue and Gateway which are now seen. On the other side of the road is the Fellows' Garden, which was laid out about the middle of last century, and beyond this the Cricket Grounds, held in joint ownership with Clare College.

The bridge of Fifeshire stone, with its single span of 55 feet, of simple yet sufficient design, is not the least attractive of the bridges along the Backs.

In 1879, on the same day on which the west window of the chapel was consecrated, the fountain in the front Court was opened. The work, done in stone and bronze from the design of Mr. Armstead, follows the resolution of the College for a "bronze figure upon a base out of which a fountain or conduit should

flow." The figure is of the founder "gently" offering the charter, with Religion and Philosophy on either side of the pedestal—the one holding a model of the chapel upon a closed book, the other reading an unfolded scroll. The soft Portland stone, used in the basin and foundation of the main structure, suffered so severely from the effects of frost and water, that it was replaced two years ago, through the generosity of a senior Fellow, by a harder granite. The founder gazes on the screen and Porter's Lodge. His own quadrangle is not.



Lectern and Choir ✠

CHAPTER V

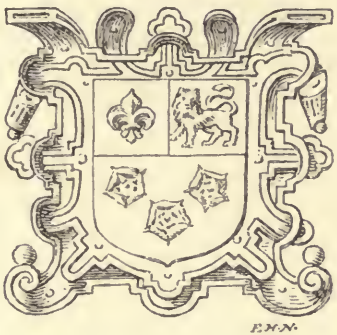
THE STATUTES OF THE FOUNDER AND THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION

THE Statutes under which the College was governed for a period of more than four hundred years, were issued at the direction of King Henry VI. in the year 1443. The College was then three years old. In the year 1440, William Millington, a fellow of Clare Hall, had been installed by the king as Rector over a College of twelve scholars, which was to take the name of St. Nicholas, the natal saint of Henry VI. This was the provision of the first original Charter of the College, bearing the date of February 12, 1440. During this time the College was unconnected with Eton, which indeed was not founded until October 11, 1440. The work of drawing up the Statutes was entrusted originally to three Commissioners, including John Langton, the Chancellor of the University. They did not, however, perform the task imposed upon them, probably because they disapproved, the Chancellor in particular, of the peculiar position which King Henry had determined his College should occupy in Cambridge. The Statutes, therefore, were drawn up directly under the royal supervision. The king modelled his larger

foundation on William of Wykeham's New College at Oxford, receiving, it is conjectured, the direct assistance of William of Waynflete, an old Wykehamist and second Provost of Eton. What New College was to Winchester College, King Henry's foundation at Cambridge was to be to the twin foundation which he was establishing at Eton, near Windsor. The scholars of the latter, when sufficiently instructed in the rudiments of grammar, were to be transferred for further and permanent study to his Cambridge College, which was henceforth to take the double title of Our Lady and St. Nicholas. Consequently, at the present day the College celebrates two founder's days—25th March, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, who was the patron saint of Eton College; and the 6th December, St. Nicholas' Day, which had been adopted as the founder's day three years before. In view of this change a second charter was issued, superseding the first, and dated 12th July 1443.

The connection between King's and Eton is emblazoned on the coats of arms. The small foundation of 1440 had neither seal nor arms. But in 1443 seals were engraven for the two colleges. The seal for King's College had in base a shield blazoned as follows: Sable a mitre pierced by a crozier, between two lily flowers proper: a chief per pale azure, with a fleur-de-lis of France and gules a lion of England. The lilies were for Our Lady, the mitre and crozier for St.

Nicholas—the patron saints of King's College. That for Eton College was similar, with the exception of a third lily flower in place of the mitre and crozier. In both the founder is represented by the chief, derived from the Royal Arms. The Royal patents of 1448, which authorised the two colleges to bear arms confirmed the arms on the Eton seal, but substituted in the case of King's—



THE COLLEGE ARMS

perhaps in order to avoid confusion with Eton —three silver roses for the mitre and crozier: "The grace of a maturer growth for the purity of simple innocence," the late Bishop Westcott said.

The Statutes, which are elaborated in great detail, contain many provisions that would be common to any collegiate foundation of that day, but they present in addition two points of peculiarity. First, of course, was the connec-

tion with Eton. The foundation was to consist of seventy students, from the youngest scholar to the oldest fellow, with a Provost at their head, recruited entirely from Eton. This figure excludes the choristers and clerks of the choir, who were only members of the foundation in a subordinate sense. It was strictly ordained that the number should be maintained at seventy, neither more nor less, though the latter contingency had to be guarded against the more carefully. Each year the Provost, accompanied by two of the fellows, was to proceed to Eton for the purpose of filling up the vacancies on the foundation. With the assistance of the chief College authorities there, they were to conduct the election impartially and without regard for the wishes of prince or prelate. The boys they were to select were to be "poor, needy, graced with good manners and conditions, fit for study, and of honourable conversations, adequately instructed 'in reading, plain song, and Donatus.'" They must not be illegitimate, suffering from incurable disease, from any "mutilationem membrorum enormem," or any defect that might unfit them for taking Holy Orders. The founder evidently intended the selection of the worthiest members of Eton.

The future before a selected scholar was far different from what it is to-day. It was an assured livelihood. The scholar of Eton proceeded to King's, there to continue permanently and more fully the studies he had begun at school. For the first three years

of his University life he remained a scholar; when this period of probation was over, he became a full member of the foundation —a fellow. If he had not yet attained his first bachelor's degree, he was for some short time an undergraduate fellow. For the status of fellow, though it was reached about the same time as that of bachelor, was in no way connected with it. A scholar became a fellow after having passed his three years of probation to the satisfaction of the College; an undergraduate became a graduate by passing the examination conducted in College by the College authorities, and not, as in all other colleges, by the University in the University schools. There was, therefore, on the foundation the broad division into scholars who were probationary fellows, and full fellows who had passed through the period of probation. But, as between fellows, their standing in the University made a difference. There were Undergraduate Fellows, Fellows B.A., who attained their first degree of Bachelor of Arts, and Fellows M.A., who had reached as Master of Arts a full Graduate position. The governing body consisted of all the fellows of B.A. standing and upwards; eligibility thus depended on the attainment of the first University degree. But within this governing body the thirteen senior members of the foundation formed an inner circle, to which they succeeded by seniority, as regulated by the Statutes. These were the senior fellows. The remaining fellows on the governing body, whether of B.A. or M.A. standing,

were the junior fellows; junior fellows became senior fellows in order of seniority as vacancies occurred.

From among the senior fellows were selected the governing officials: the Vice-Provost, who performed the Provost's functions in the latter's absence; the three Deans, who attended to the discipline of the College—one, the senior, learned in divinity, the others at least graduate therein; and three Bursars, who supervised the commissariat and College finance. Above all stood the Provost, with large, almost autocratic power.

Although the constitution of College government was not greatly dissimilar from that which prevails to-day, the nature of the discipline and regulation discloses the full severity of mediæval monasticism. All members of the College took deacon's orders; most became priests. Some few clerks, not more than ten, were allowed to substitute for theology the secular studies of law (canon or civil), medicine, and astronomy. Except in these few cases, the failure to take priest's orders was punished by expulsion from the society.

Daily attendance at the chapel services, daily lectures, beginning at six, a strict routine of study tested by a weekly examination, were the lot of every scholar; and even those of higher standing were bound to many duties. The meals were taken together in the hall, the company listening in silence to the reading of scripture; if they did converse it was in Latin. The College not only boarded and lodged its members, it also clothed them, cut their hair

and shaved them. Scholars and fellows were forbidden to sell or pawn their clothes till they had worn them for two years; but after the first year they might give them away to members of the society whose own suits had come to a premature decay. The College porters trimmed the hair and cut the beards of all the society, for a profusion of hair was thought in those days to be inconsistent alike with the academical and clerical profession. Athletics met with equal discouragement. No scholar or fellow, chaplain or clerk, or other officer might keep dogs, ferrets, or hawks, or throw, play, or shoot within or without the College. Moreover, when the scholars went outside the College gates, they were not to go alone or discard their academical dress; and before they could take a walk into the country, leave of the Provost and Dean was necessary. Poverty probably kept them at Cambridge, but they might enjoy a vacation of two months in the course of the year, so long as not more than twenty of the whole number of seventy were absent at the same time. Even when out of residence they were bound to dress like "clerks" and forbidden to frequent either taverns or public spectacles.

The same pious solicitude, which sought to secure orderliness by the assured connection with Eton and by the vigorous discipline of monastic rules, was exercised to preserve it unimpaired from outside interference. First of all, with the support of a Papal Bull from Eugenius IV., 1445, the foundation of the King's College was endowed with exceptional

religious privileges. The members were excused all parish duties, whether of service or money; and even when the town was under interdict all the sacraments might be performed in the College chapel. But more important than this, the visitorial functions were vested, not in the Bishop of Ely, in whose diocese Cambridge lay and in whom all the other colleges found their ecclesiastical supervisor, but in the Bishop of Lincoln, whose diocese at that time extended far enough south to include Eton in the county of Buckinghamshire. Moreover, the office was not, as in the case of Eton, shared with the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Secondly, the College was exempted from the ordinary jurisdiction of the Chancellor. This grant of an *imperium in imperio* was not obtained without a considerable struggle. But by a composition between the Chancellor and the Provost, arranged in 1457, the independent jurisdiction was confirmed and defined. From interpretations it is clear that this independence was not absolute. The College could only decide on matters arising within its own precincts, such as the indiscipline of a turbulent undergraduate or the shortcomings of a dishonest bursar. In the wider sphere of University relations, the University jurisdiction still prevailed.

For the future of the College, it was not of primary importance whether its spiritual overlord came from Lincoln or Ely, whether the little offences of College life were punished by the College Council or the Vice-Chancellor's

Court, but from these exemptions in the fields of ecclesiastical government and civil jurisdiction grew up, in the third place, an educational exemption by which the Kingsmen proceeded to the B.A. degree without passing a University examination. It is not clear that this exemption was intended by the founder; for, while probability points this way, the evidence points the opposite. Since King's College was clearly modelled on New College, Oxford, and New College is known some time after its foundation to have held the same privilege of degree without examination, it seems only reasonable to conjecture that King Henry borrowed this along with the other privileges and incorporated it definitely in the College constitution; and moreover, since such a grant of privilege must have been at any time irksome to the University authorities, they might have yielded unwillingly to a royal and pious benefactor what they certainly would have refused to the College officials of later times or even to later kings. But the evidence militates against this view. First, it is not improbable that the privilege of New College was itself of after growth, so that in 1446 there was no model for Henry VI. to imitate. Secondly, not only is there no mention of such an exemption in the statutes and documents of King Henry VI., which settle the relations between the College and the University, but on the contrary there is direct provision for participation in the scholastic disputations, which were at that time the avenue to the B.A. degree. The settlement, however, of the exact date at which the

custom was introduced is chiefly a matter of antiquarian interest. The practice was certainly of ancient standing, and lasted to the middle of the nineteenth century. It is difficult to feel very doubtful about the goodness or

THE CHAPEL AT SUNSET

badness of the results. The routine of University graduation may have been cumbersome, as the matter of the disputation was often meaningless, yet it was a test and stimulus to exertion in a manner however imperfect. And although the exempted Kingsmen,

freed from a routine of intellectual study, might have nourished unobstructed the tenderer growth of a finer learning, it is to be feared they discovered the evil of exemption rather than the good, and stagnated in idleness below the normal standard of University culture more often than they lifted themselves to a higher ideal eminent above their neighbours.

Privilege and straitness of discipline do not conduce to an elasticity of constitution; and the royal founder to some extent defeated his own ends by the excessive elaboration of his provisions. His College, so far from realising his ideal of an earnest society, devoted to religion and research, and preserved by his liberality from material want and secular worry, was notorious for the frequency and acrimony of its quarrels among its own members, with the allied foundation of Eton, and with the University in general. And yet throughout these vicissitudes the constitutional peculiarities of the College were preserved with singularly little change. The monastic element, as in other colleges, passed gradually away, but King's remained, as its founder intended, privileged and exclusive.

The integrity of the Statutes was from time to time threatened in two different ways, from without and from within. First of all, Kingsmen stubbornly resisted any attempt to impose on them aliens from other colleges or universities or to force them in their elections from Eton College, although it would seem

they occasionally exercised the right, as in the case of George Day, John Cheke, and Benjamin Whichcote, of inviting outsiders into their body on their own initiative. Contrary to the practice of its great neighbour Trinity College, the election of the Provost of King's was vested in the whole body of fellows and not in the Crown. Up to the revolution of 1689 this right was hardly more than a *congé d'élire*. The Crown nominated and on more than one occasion secured the resignation of the Provost. But when in 1689 King William III. endeavoured to impose on the College a liberal Provost, who had declared boldly for thoroughness of religious toleration, the College revived its dormant rights by rejecting the royal nominee. The king, anxious for the acquiescence of the College, substituted the more illustrious name of Sir Isaac Newton. But not even the genius and virtue of Cambridge's greatest scholar could overcome the roused orthodoxy of the College, which preferred Mr. Roderick, of Eton College, who was neither a doctor nor in orders. Having hastily repaired these deficiencies in their candidate, the College appealed boldly against the royal command and collected funds for the threatened lawsuit. The Attorney-General urged the indubitable precedents for royal elections. But the College disputant, John Layton, a deaf and purblind tutor, was unconvinced. Queen Mary happened to enter as he was speaking, but Layton, neither hearing nor seeing, smote the table forcibly with his hand and cried, "Mr. Attorney-General, if we

must bear the grievances of former reigns then indeed is the king in vain come in." Boldness won the day, and shortly after the king, in the company of the Chancellor, announced to the fellows in the College chapel "that the man they had chosen should be their Provost." To some of later generations it seemed a Pyrrhic victory, the loss of a golden chance of escaping from that exclusive isolation which Lord Macaulay has termed the College's "degrading fate."

Ready as it was to resent breaches of its rights from outside, the College was not so inclined itself to observe faithfully the duties imposed on it by the founder. And "quis custodiet ipsos custodes?" King Henry designed his College for the study of theology by poor students in permanent residence. The society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was continually tending to become a College of fellows, some habitually absentees, few poor in the founder's meaning of the word, many permanently laymen, with the exception of those who were either specially interested in theological studies, or had material ends in the shape of privileges attached to Divinity degrees or College livings. In the earlier times members forfeited their fellowship on becoming possessed of an income exceeding five marks annual value. But in the seventeenth century the slender wealth limit was passed with impunity, until its exceeding became unnoticed as a grievance. So, too, with the absentee fellows. The fellowships became so valuable that the Kingsmen aspired to retain them

even when they went permanently out of residence. In 1674 the junior fellows protested against the payments to senior absentees of funds which bore the name of fees for the transaction of College business. But absenteeism triumphed, with the result that by the beginning of the nineteenth century a fellowship at King's was as likely to be the profitable investment of a well-to-do gentleman as the slender emolument of a residing clerk.

Again, by an extension upon, rather than a violation of the Founder's Statutes, the sons of the rich or the noble came to be admitted as fellow commoners, that is, as undergraduates not on the foundation, and not therefore entitled to fellowships. Their number was not allowed to exceed twelve. As early as the reign of Elizabeth, strict rules were laid down, regulating the amount of their dues, the nature of the entrance-test, and their rank in chapel and in hall. In the reign of Elizabeth, also, there is mention of undergraduate members, known as "scholar commoners," who were either collegers of Eton waiting for vacancies in the King's Scholarships, or students of the same class as fellow commoners, but not rich enough to pay the same scale of fees. At Eton there arose in a similar way a class of "commensales" who grew into the hundreds of Oppidans of a later day, but at King's the scholar commoners disappeared by the end of the seventeenth century, and while corresponding in many respects to the pensioners of to-day, are not their lineal ancestors. Finally, there

were the poor scholars, the servitors or "sizars" of other colleges, who resided out of College and paid for their university education by attendance on the senior fellows.

Hence, during the greater part of the College's history four classes of students existed in the College: the scholars and fellows of the foundation, the fellow commoners, the scholar commoners, and the poor scholars. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century the fellow commoners and poor scholars disappeared, as had the scholar commoners a century earlier; so that in 1841, only twenty years before the opening of the College to the outside student, King's was a small society of thirty residents, twenty graduate fellows, and ten undergraduate scholars, while the remainder of the seventy were absentees, enjoying the emoluments for which they did no service in the College. The total of the society was that prescribed by the founder, the method of their living in many cases hardly so.

It is sometimes forgotten that a College of Oxford or Cambridge is at once a large landowner, with rights and duties in different quarters of the country, and a body of students absorbed, if not in study, at any rate in uncommercial pursuits. Yet the difficulty of combining the dual function has been no small one in the history of King's. Unlike the universities of recent foundation, whose revenues are received from State grants or the transferred investments of private benefactors, the old colleges are the lineal heirs of the monasteries, the

most extensive of ancient landowners. Their possessions are of two kinds—estates, and the advowsons to Church livings. With the first, King's was peculiarly well endowed by its founder. The reign of Henry VI. marks the disappearance of the close connection between England and France, and consequently the alien priories, the rents of which had been transmitted to the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, and other French foundations, were confiscated and employed for religious purposes at home. These were the sources out of which Henry endowed his new College of King's, and they form the bulk of the College estates to-day. They are chiefly in the east and south of England.

The founder did not intend that the duties of the landlord should be lightly undertaken. Each year the Provost, attended by a fellow of the College, had to make a round of the estates, inspecting the live-stock and warning the bailiffs and tenants to send in all moneys due to them, so as to be ready for the audit. To-day the undergraduate may ponder thoughtfully over the proprietary responsibilities of his society, when he sips the annual cup of audit ale.

Not infrequently in the College history the most important part of the year's work was a squabble over the sum to be divided among the fellows; sometimes, it is to be feared, the revenues which should have promoted the study of learning were diverted to greedy pockets. On the whole, however, the College was a good landlord; and in the land reform of the

nineteenth century King's, backward in other respects, took the lead. Copyholds, which practically made the tenant half-owner with the landlord, and which were wasteful when the means of communication improved, began to be replaced by leaseholds, although even at the present day the transformation is not yet completed; and the common fields, with their slovenly cultivation, were economically enclosed. In 1798 the College effected this latter reform on its adjacent estates in Grantchester and Coton. Though the College, like all other landed proprietors, has suffered severely from the fall in agricultural land, it is still one of the richest of the Cambridge foundations.

The second kind of property, the advowsons to livings, are either the original presentations of the founder, or have accrued through the legacies of private benefactors or the investment by the College of the surplus revenues from its estates. In 1702 and 1781 the most important additions were made. When the life of the society was predominantly ecclesiastical, this form of property was more natural, since a College living assumed frequently the form of a pension to a fellow who desired retirement from active life in the society. Such possessions are not likely to be extended in the future.


The Bridge etc
from
Queens Coll: Grove
E.H.N.

CHAPTER VI

FROM HENRY VI. TO THE PRESENT DAY

IN the four centuries from Henry VI. to Victoria, King's College played a part of varying importance in the intellectual life of the University. Speaking roughly, the age of the Tudors was an era of greatness. Then came a reaction, general throughout the world of learning, in which King's College also suffered. In the storms of the Civil War the men of the King's College naturally ranged themselves under the Royalist banners; although the University of a town which was the rallying point of Republican resistance and in which Cromwell himself was for sometime Member of Parliament, could not display the same unwavering loyalty to the cause of the Stuarts as did the University in the Royalist stronghold of Oxford. Through the unsettled times between the closing years of Elizabeth and the restoration of Charles II., the College was ably guided in the three lengthy Provostships of Roger Goad (1569–1610), Samuel Collins (1615–1644), and Benjamin Whichcote (1644–1660). Yet during the comparatively settled period of the next thirty years, King's was less eminent intellectually than in days of uncertainty and strife.

It was by a strange coincidence that in 1689,

the first year of the dual reign, which was begun upon the last of England's revolutions, King's came to a parting of the ways; the College rejected Newton, and with him, perhaps, an immediate future of enlightenment and science. Instead there followed one hundred and fifty years of quiescence, if not stagnation, enthusiasm dormant, discipline slack, the social life quaint and domesticated. Although during this time more than one Kingsman, eminent in after life, resided within the College walls, yet the general level of scholarship was low. The nineteenth century had run more than half its course before King's threw off the cloak of obscurity, and was transformed slowly, even painfully, to the New King's of to-day, to a society fresher, freer, with stronger hopes and wider ideals.

The struggles of the Roses, which destroyed the House of Lancaster, were an ill augury for the newly founded College. There was a general lassitude in the seats of English learning. As Fisher, looking back from the year 1506, says, "A weariness of learning and study had stolen on the University, whether owing to quarrels with townsmen, or the prevailing fever, or that there was a lack of helpers and patrons of letters." The completion of the chapel buildings was the chief event of those days, though Robert Wodelarke, the third Provost, found time to establish on adjacent ground the Hall of St. Catharine's. But it was the dark before the dawn. In 1511 Erasmus began his residence in Cambridge, and from his lodgings in the tower of Queens'

College lit the double lamp of the Renaissance and the Reformation. John Bryan, one of the first to lecture from Aristotle in the Greek, Richard Croke, of international renown, Sir John Cheke, Provost and Greek professor, were all pioneers of the new learning. And when religious struggles intervened upon the war of letters, Kingsmen were prominent on either side.

A zealous Catholic was Nicholas West, who had risen from the bakehouse to the episcopal chair of Ely, Wolsey-like in the rapidity of his elevation, in his proud ostentation and his royal orthodoxy. As an undergraduate desperately turbulent, detected in arson and larceny upon the Provost's lodgings, he expiated the impiety of his early disorders by benefactions to the College, and by zeal for the integrity of Holy Church. How he entered the lists against the heretic, how he attempted to surprise Hugh Latimer at St. Mary's Church, how the wily reformer changed his text, and preaching from the ninth of Hebrews, "But Christ being come an high priest of good things to come," contrasted the worldliness of present-day clergy with the simplicity of their great Exemplar is a familiar tale. Concealing his chagrin as best he could, West sought the preacher afterwards to beg one favour. "What is your lordship's pleasure?" asked the reformer. "Marry!" said West, "that you preach once in this place one sermon against Martin Luther and his doctrine." Latimer declined. He did not know the doctrine, he was not allowed to read the

works of Luther, but if he ever found that that man's teaching was contrary to scripture, he was ready to confute it with all his heart.

Edward Fox and Richard Cox were prominent among those who in different ways, and with marked success, adopted the cause of Protestantism. Fox was a royal favourite, wily and diplomatic, entrusted at one time with a commission to the Pope for the negotiation of the divorce from Catherine of Arragon, at another sent to win the consent of the German princes at Schmalkalde. He died in 1538. Richard Cox, the tutor of Henry VIII., assisted in compiling the two prayer books of Edward VI.

When Cardinal Pole sent his commission to Cambridge for the extirpation of heresy, they made their headquarters at King's "because," Fuller suggests, "the same for the worthiness thereof was chief and sovereign of all the residue, or else because that house especially before all others had been counted time out of mind never to be without a heretic (as they term them) or twain." In the little band of students, by-named "Germany," who used to meet nightly at the White Horse Inn to study around their grotesque leader, the diminutive Bilney, John Frith from King's was a prominent figure. He was transferred with other Cambridge scholars to Wolsey's College at Oxford, from which he was removed subsequently for his heresy, sent abroad, and on his return committed to the Tower, where he wrote a work on the Sacraments, which cost him his life. He was burnt at Smithfield in

July 1533. The Marian martyrs, twenty years later, included three Kingsmen—Laurence Saunders, burnt at Coventry, whose memory is perpetuated in the scholarship which bears his name; Robert Glover, also burnt in Coventry; and John Hullier, vicar of Babraham, burnt on Jesus Green, the only sufferer in Queen Mary's reign at Cambridge itself.

When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne she determined to reform the conditions of the universities, which thirty years of disquiet had not improved. As far as King's was concerned, Elizabeth was unfortunate. She nominated as Provost one Philip Baker, who took flight to save his deposition in 1569. Besides being a gigantic feeder and an inordinate lover of sweetbreads (as appears from his dining accounts), he was a scamper of his duties and a time-server, neglecting the Church offices and the studies, without any excuse save that he was at heart a Romanist. It was said of him that he was *pistori quam pastori similior*, and that nothing in his life became him like the leaving it.

The visit of the Queen to King's College in August 1564 was long remembered. The royal procession entered the College by the way of Queens' Lane (then one of the main entrances into Cambridge). It was greeted at the west door with a Latin oration from William Master, the public orator and a Kingsman. The choir then sang in English and the whole party moved up into the inner chapel, the Queen taking her place under a canopy at the east end. The Provost began

the *Te Deum* in English, which was solemnly sung in pricksong, the organs playing; this was followed by evensong. The Queen then went out by a passage made through a window of the north-east side chapel to her apartments in the Provost's lodgings, receiving on her way a present of gloves and comfits. On the evening of the following Sunday the *Aulularia* of Plautus was acted in the antechapel, the Queen sitting against the south wall and some ladies occupying the rood loft.

The forty-one years' Provostship of Dr. Goad, from 1569 to 1610, strengthened the College intellectually and materially. A College order two years after his accession reminds the reader that the Middle Ages were not long passed. All members of the College, the order declared, including servants and choristers, were forbidden to enter any stream, pool, or water within the county of Cambridge for the purpose of swimming or bathing either by day or night. The penalty for the first offence was a severe flogging in hall in the presence of the whole society; while seniors who broke this law sat in the stocks in hall for a day. A second offence entailed expulsion. Sport was still severely discouraged. The "hurtful and unscholarly exercise" of football was forbidden (as may be gathered from the University injunctions issued by Goad as Vice-Chancellor), except within each College and between members of the same College. Bull-baiting, bear-baiting, the carrying of weapons, the keeping of hawks and dogs, fishing in the river (which was then a monopoly of the town)—all these

practices were pronounced illegal. The undergraduates of that time seem to have possessed about as much liberty as the public school boys of to-day. Each resident had not as yet an apartment to himself. Bullying was not unknown.

The closing years of Provost Goad's reign were embittered by severe quarrels among the fellows over matters of finance and discipline. In 1602 the strife reached a head. The Provost and seniors, in consequence of the breaking out of the plague, tried to shut the College. The juniors and scholars protested loudly. "There is no authority to drive us from the College, and we will not go, but withstand it. We are many poor, many orphans and friendless, many Londoners, and know not whither to go but into places still more dangerous." Peace was ultimately restored by the Visitor, who six years later published an injunction entitled "Articles of Good Husbandrie and Reformation of Manners."

Samuel Collins, who held the Provostship from 1615 till 1644, had also a long and troublesome reign.

The dark days of the Civil War, in which more than one Kingsman perished, cost Collins his Provostship, but this was perhaps an advantage for the College, since it made way for Benjamin Whichcote, whose wise administration and broad sympathies helped in no small degree to preserve the College from the vengeance of the Puritans. Whichcote was at once a man of intellect and heart. Belonging to the small but distinguished group of Cambridge

Platonists, he was a champion of toleration in days of intolerance. His sympathies with the unorthodox were too well known to survive the floodtide of the Anglican Restoration, and he retired to pastoral duties at the College Rectory of Milton, respected and regretted.

When Dr. Snape died in 1743, a severe contest for the Provostship ensued. The following account is from an unsigned letter quoted by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte: "The Fellows went into Chapel on Monday before noon in the morning as the Statute directs. After prayer and sacraments they began to vote—twenty-two for George, sixteen for Thackeray, ten for Chapman. Thus they continued, scrutinising and walking about, eating and sleeping; some of them smoking. Still the same numbers for each candidate, till yesterday about noon (for they held that in the forty-eight hours allowed for the election no adjournment could be made), when, the Tories, Chapman's friends, refusing absolutely to concur with either of the two other parties, Thackeray's votes went over to George by agreement, and he was declared. A friend of mine, a curious man, tells me he took a survey of his brothers at the hour of two in the morning, and that never was a curious or more diverting spectacle. Some, wrapped in blankets, erect in their stalls like mummies; others asleep on cushions, like so many Gothic tombs; here a red cap over a wig; there a face lost in the cape of a rug. One blowing a chafing dish with a surpliced sleeve; another warming a little negus or sipping 'Coke upon Littleton,'

i.e. tent and brandy. Thus did they combat the cold of that frosty night, which has not killed many of them, to my infinite surprise."

The old régime was slowly drawing to an end. Yet it lingered uneventfully for another hundred years, until, in the middle of Queen Victoria's reign, the old garb was set aside and the new assumed.

To-day the Freshman is at first somewhat anxious as to the proprieties he must observe. In an earlier age he would have copied out during the first week of his residence the Senior Scholar's book, which is a record of the customs and procedure regulating College life from the day of entry to the taking of the Master of Arts degree. From these books, dating from the sixteenth century, the later copies of which are sometimes incorrectly transcribed, many interesting details can be gleaned.

The newly elected scholar (each scholarship being filled up as a vacancy occurred) must present himself within twenty days. The Junior scholar (*i.e.* the now ex-Freshman) brings the Freshman to College, sends for the tailor to provide a cap and gown, carries him to the Provost, directs him to stand before grace in Staincoat Hole[1] under the Organ loft at Chapel, asks the time of his admission, sees that he reads the admission Statutes, provides a Greek Testament and the Publick Notary as witness against

[1] Staincoat or Stangate Hole is the corner in which was stored the stang or pole on which servants and scholars were carried by way of punishment, the latter chiefly for missing chapel.

the time of admission, makes him stand under the Bell or Provost's Lodge till called in.

After admission the Freshman is installed in a chamber by the Provost and Vice-Provost, where he is placed under the charge of a senior chamber Fellow, who lives above him, and attends him when he goes out. After ten days he emerges formally from his "tyrocinium"; after the first week he is Bibler in chapel; after the first month he reads the grace. At the end of the term he matriculates. During the time of his Freshmanship he is carefully instructed by "his chum and the Senior scholar in and out of his chambers, lest he ignorantly alone should commit absurdities."

The scholars as a body cap even Junior Fellows in the Court. They walk not in the Chapel Yard Walk. They strike (*i.e.* salute with the hat) Masters of Arts in Chapel Yard and Crouches (the ground between Old Court and the Chapel) except when a stranger is between. They cap the Provost in both places while in sight. They stand not to talk with a Fellow in sight of a Senior or M.A. either in the Court, Cow Lane, or the Nave of the Chapel, nor go into town in sight of any one of them except he give leave. The senior scholars are responsible for any disturbance made in Hall, Screens, or Chapel, if they give not an account thereof and the person that made it.

There are four Solemn Beavers or Drinking Festivals in the year, for the remembrance of which there is a false verse, "Andreas Thomas

Sanctorum Nativitasque," on which eves at six o'clock the Fellows and Scholars meet to drink charity to each other. They are also called Crambo Nights from an old custom of playing then at Crambo.

On certain festivals speeches are delivered in hall by the senior undergraduate who has not made one before. On founder's days, of course, there are solemn commemorations in chapel and hall.

It may be remarked here, by way of explanation, that there were not in early times three annual vacations. Poverty and the expense of travelling did not allow of more than one break in the year—the Long Vacation, which was probably made so long in order that the whole time should not be spent on the road to and fro. But there were certain substitutes for regular vacations.

"Term out" is granted during Christmas, Easter, Whitsun, and Rogation week, as well as on founder's and other special days. This excuses the observance of exercises and of Canon hours, during which scholars must keep their rooms. Furthermore, on certain days "Dors," or permissions to sleep late are given, on January 7 among other days "in memoriam Doctoris Cowel (the indiscreet author of the 'Interpreter'), because then and never else he overslept himself and missed early prayers." At the end of his three years of probation the scholar waits on all the fellows in turn and requests their votes, for his fellowship. These obtained, he is admitted by the Provost with the kiss of peace, and then takes the Oath to the Government,

and the Sacraments according to the rites of the Church of England.

Fellow of his college, but without a University degree, he has now the privilege as a Kingsman of obtaining the requisite grace from his own college in his own college chapel. However, he still goes to the schools subsequently to conduct formal disputations and to secure the Vice-Chancellor's placeat. As a Kingsman he takes precedence of all other questionists. In the case of Bachelors not Fellows (there were usually a few members in the College, who were not scholars on the foundation), the Father or Prælecter has to be constantly present in the Senate House to take care that Mr. Regent does not dispute too hard with his sons. When this is done, he goes to a tavern with the posers or examiners and talks over his sons' performances. If they have satisfied, they are entitled to demand their groats, amounting to three shillings and fourpence from the posers; if not, the father tries to win over the posers by providing out of his own pocket the groats which they will present to the new bachelor.

The Kingsmen can obtain their second University degree in the same way—by grant from the College, and subsequent ratification from the University. They alone can become Inceptors in Arts (*i.e.* qualify for a Master of Arts, which they became in full, one term later) without a "Supplicat" or petition to the Vice-Chancellor and University authorities.

After the M.A. degree come Orders, College offices, and usually a pension in the form of a college living, but of this the book says nothing.

Mr. Tucker has left a vivid picture of life in Old Court on the eve of its disappearance.

Morning chapel was at eight, and no chapels were allowed. The penalty for absence was a Latin epigram of four lines, in which it was usual to express grief at the power of sleep. This had to be delivered personally to the Dean in residence before ten o'clock, which was a great hardship, because it interfered with the latter portion of breakfast. After breakfast came the morning lecture, the only lecture of the day, English and Greek alternately. If it was English day, "Locke on the Understanding" was the inevitable theme. The discourse was not highly metaphysical. The lecturer read parts of a sentence and required its conclusion from some one "put on." Occasionally a question on the meaning followed. The student murmured something about "Sensation and reflection." "Not exactly," the lecturer would reply; "it is rather . . . "—and then the lecture proceeded.

Or it might be Greek day. Aristophanes, nothing but Aristophanes. All sat round the lecturer in a semicircle, book on knee. Each took a part. "Mr. Lofft will take Strepsiades" —and so forth; plain construing, varied now and then by the reading of a passage from some commentator to explain the political or other aspects of the text.

At eleven o'clock the official studies were at an end. No need for Kingsmen to bother their heads about Mathematics or Tripos, for they had no Senate House to face. A stroll down to Deighton's to look at books, or to the

Union to peruse the morning papers, filled agreeably the two hours before lunch at one o'clock. Stilton and beer graced every luncheon table; the richer feeders added a chop from the grill.

The afternoon was devoted to riding or "constitutionals" on the Madingley or Gog-Magog roads. In summer the more energetic played cricket (the Kingsmen were too few and poor to boat), but not for long, since dinner was at four. The early returned sat by their windows awaiting the hour—perhaps buying dessert at extortionate prices from "Crisp's man," who walked round with a tray of fruits and lofty sponge-cakes, supported by blooming grapes, pretty dishes, too, of Cognac cherries and olives.

Dinner in Hall was the meal of the day—good, plentiful, and well served. A dozen undergraduates or more sat down to the meal; at the Seniors' table, three or four fellows; at the Master's, ten; at the Bachelors', some few. The three Bursars dined in a little room apart.

After dinner some of the graduates mounted the Combi stairs to conduct a small symposium. Heady port was the wine drunk, "Blackstrap," with an antecedure in the wood. On a summer's day they drew their table to the window, looking out on the chapel, and the townsfolk strolling down to the river would look up at the "gentlemen a-drinking their wine." Porson now and then was a guest at King's, and where Porson dined Porson remained. Once, as he was leaving about day-

light, he remarked to a taciturn neighbour: "Sir, you've sat up all night and have the pleasure of knowing that you've not said a single word worth listening to during the whole of it."

The undergraduates went to their rooms after Hall to eat dessert and play whist. The Whist Club was called "The Old Mogul," because the backs of the cards had a picture of the Great Mogul. Supper intervened at ten o'clock; wild ducks in winter, lamb and salads in summer. In those days they ran up high kitchen bills, with the assistance of Lawrence the cook, who had a Laurentian rate of charges all his own. After supper the host detained a select few for a round of tenpenny limited loo. Nor would they leave till they had coaxed from him just "one more cool bottle" out of the locker sawdust.

Old Court was not always harmonious, as when the College band practised in the court —flutes, 'cello, horns—until a voice from the school's windows protested, "Non possumus procedere propter," only to be met by apologies booed in the doggiest Latin. Or as the famous night, on which some one shot the College owl, and the report of the gun startled the ease of the Proctors and Justices of the town, who listened, and turned to each other as they said, with a smile, "Ah, it's only the Kingsmen."

Occasionally the undergraduates ventured on bolder pleasures. A gig soon conveyed a party to a ball at Huntingdon, or Bury, bringing them back again by six on the following morn-

ing. Some one had been prudent enough to acquire a Fellow's key, and so, creeping on tip-toe down the Porter's passage, they reached

KING'S PARADE

their rooms in safety, and were found by their bed-makers at half-past seven sleeping soundly in their beds. Shades of the founder and his seventy poor scholars!

The new Kingsman, elected from Eton by an examination, which was a farce, sometimes unable to write a verse or construe ten lines of Vergil, entered upon three years of pleasant society; not feeling strange and desolate as many a Freshman to-day, but gleefully welcomed by a dozen familiar friends. Bachelor without public examination at the end of three or four years, the ex-Freshman, now Fellow of his college, if he contemplated taking orders, which were nominally necessary to the retention of a Fellowship, proceeded to a theological course at Ely, which was hardly more searching than his entrance examination into King's. After that a college living was only a question of time.

It is not, however, true to say that intellectual enthusiasm was altogether dead. Mr. Tucker himself, for example, spent much of his leisure in the private study of modern languages, and not a few of his generation were distinguished in after life, as the concluding chapter will show. But the general level of scholarship was low. And there was already towards the middle of the nineteenth century a band of reformers gathering together who were determined to abolish the old state of things and to bring to the College an intellectual stimulus and vigour that was more in accordance with the spirit if not with the letter of the founder's wishes.

Nothing, however, was possible during the tenure of Provost Thackeray, who united with Provost Goodall at Eton in a blank refusal to consider any schemes of reform. But on the

accession of Richard Okes in 1850 the era of change began. By the time of his death in 1888 the College had assumed its present form. Broadly speaking, there were two stages in the process. First, the reformation of the society within the limits of the old constitution, and secondly, the remodelling of the constitution itself.

There were three steps in the first stage. As early as 1821 John Lucius Dampier, a barrister, and his colleague John Tomkyns, the two "posers" or examiners, who selected the King's scholars from Eton, determined to make the examination a reality and initiated the policy, which was gradually realised, of election by merit and not merely by order of seniority.

Secondly, on 1st May 1851 it was unanimously agreed "that the present practice of claiming for the undergraduate of this College the degree of B.A. without passing the examinations required by the University be abandoned." The abolition of this privilege, which rested on no certain grant from the founder and which had already been foregone in the parallel case of New College, Oxford, was all the more desirable in view of the recent establishment of the Classical Tripos.

Thirdly, in 1861 the Parliamentary Commission appointed to inquire into the condition of Oxford and Cambridge Colleges published a set of new statutes for the College, one part of which rearranged the method of government. The predominating position of the Provost and Seniors was replaced by a more democratic

arrangement which vested the chief control in the general body of M.A. Fellows.

So far the Constitution, though amended, was fundamentally unaltered. But the second half of the Commissioners' instrument broke down the monopoly of Eton. Instead of a body of seventy Etonians, in which the proportion of Fellows to Scholars fluctuated as the number of deaths, marriages, and vacancies in Livings varied, there was to be a fixed number of forty-six Fellows and forty-eight Scholars. All obligation to take Holy Orders was removed, but the Fellows of the future were not to enjoy the emoluments of a senior. Finally —and this was the important clause—twenty-four scholarships were reserved for Eton, and the other twenty-four were thrown open to boys from other schools.

But although the barrier was broken down, modern King's was not yet created. The constructive work was still to come. What the statutes of 1861 made possible, the statutes of 1882 accomplished. It is only of the period following the latter set of statutes, which govern the College at the present day, that the term modern King's can be properly used.

This final change involved two main differences, a difference of conception, and a difference of practical management.

By the statutes of 1882, Fellowships were made tenable after marriage, and terminable in six years, unless held in conjunction with a College office. They were awarded by competition as the result of dissertations involving original work. A fellowship ceased to be

matter of dividend and became a reward of merit and, as the founder intended, a provision for research. Four professorial fellowships were set apart for University professors.

And, what was of equal importance, the College became for the first time truly autonomous. Before 1882 the decisive part of the College government rested with the General Congregation, chiefly composed of non-residents, the most influential of whom were at Eton. Subordinate business was transacted either in ordinary college meetings or through an informal body composed of the Provost and the College officers. At these gatherings bursarial business occupied the greater part of the time. What small amount of educational management existed was left to a separate educational council. The statutes of 1882 shifted the centre of gravity. The resident members of the College acquired the dominant voice in the College government; and the College council, to which the government was mainly entrusted, made its educational work the predominant side of its activity. The College, that is to say, definitely adopted a conception of itself as a place of higher education, and, in accordance with this principle, made contributions to the University funds; this brought it into line with other colleges.

Where one generation opened the gate, the next generation entered in. In 1861 Scholarships were declared open, but it was not till 1873 that the first open Scholar was elected. In 1865 two Exhibitions were announced for competition, and pensioners, *i.e.* undergraduates

receiving no emoluments, were admitted on the condition that they should read for Honours, Poll men being excluded, but it was not for another decade or more that the annual entry became at all large. In 1861 the office of Tutor, which had long been in abeyance, was revived, but the tutorial system was not made effective on a large scale, until some years after the statutes of 1882 had come into operation when assistant tutors were appointed to control the specific branches of study, leaving to the general tutor the broad work of organisation.

In this way the College became what it is to-day, a society of forty-six Fellows, the majority resident, and engaged in teaching or research, and about one hundred and fifty Students, Scholars, Exhibitioners, and Pensioners, working together without distinction under one system in friendly and intimate relations with their instructors.

CHAPTER VII

SOME EMINENT KINGSMEN

AN exhaustive list of all the members of any college, whose names for one reason or another, whether in the scholarship of the university or the wider fields of politics and letters, have been handed down to posterity, would demand an amount of space which this short review cannot afford to give. In mentioning a few, and as far as possible the most interesting, of the Kingsmen of different generations four broad periods may be distinguished.

First comes the age of the Renaissance and the Reformation, the early youth of King's, when the College was equal if not superior in importance to any Cambridge college. Movements like the Renaissance and the Reformation, pre-eminently intellectual in their character, if they did not start from the universities at any rate found in them a centre of gravity, so that the resident members of a college would win a national reputation more readily than in an era distinguished for political or social brilliance. Hence the Kingsmen of this generation were at once collegiate students and national figures. Bryan, Croke, and Cheke, the masters of the new learning; Fox and Cox, the champions of the Reformation; Frith and Saunders, the martyrs in its

cause, were not only educated at King's, but acquired their reputations in the prosecution of learning and religion. Their achievements, therefore, have been already noted in the chapter which traced the College's history.

But in the second and succeeding periods the eminent Kingsmen were more often noble fellow-commoners who gained their distinctions in the outside world, than students occupied in intellectual work. The Elizabethan era contains many such names of eminent men owing little directly to their college, though often gratefully remembering it in the hour of success. The third period, the age of the Stuarts, was retrogressive and uneventful. In the fourth period, which begins with the accession of the Hanoverians, the list of distinguished names becomes once more large, dividing roughly in two groups: the contemporaries of the Walpoles and the contemporaries of Simeon.

Of the rich outburst of national vigour which marked the Elizabethan age, King's drew its full share—chiefly, indeed, from among the ranks of the nobility, who, residing for a few years at college, went out afterwards to politics and adventure. The most prominent Kingsman of this class was Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's great minister, who, with his elder colleague Cecil, Lord Burleigh, steered the ship of State for more than twenty years through the stormy shoals of internal conspiracy and foreign intrigue. He remembered his College by presenting to it some books, including a copy of the Antwerp Polyglot of 1569–73.

Less distinguished, far less useful, rather more

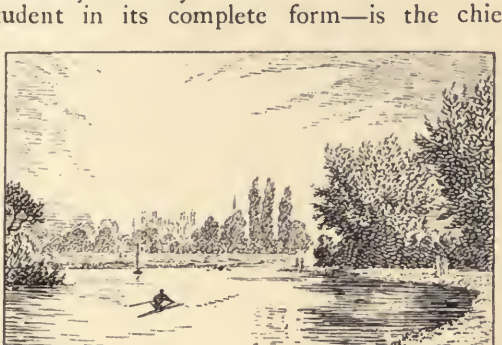
attractive, and quite as characteristic of his age was Sir John Harington, who matriculated at King's in 1576. A great favourite at Court, "the saucy poet, my Godson," of Queen Elizabeth, Harington enjoyed the license which was accorded to a jester and maker of epigrams. Only once did he become serious—when he applied for an archbishopric in Ireland. "My very genius," he said, "doth in a sort lead me to that country."

The four sons of Lord Cobham were also fellow-commoners about this time.

Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton, entered the College in 1564 as a fellow-commoner. His after life was spent in the atmosphere of courts, where he displayed an adroitness that was fully needed to save him from a well-founded charge of double-dealings with the Pope, the Queen of Scots, or the King of Spain. A Roman Catholic at heart, if not in letter, he was one of the strongest advocates of the royal person in the trials of Sir Walter Raleigh and Guy Fawkes. Though completely unprincipled in his public life, Howard displayed a many-sided culture, and was styled by Francis Bacon, "the learnedst councillor in the kingdom." Northumberland House, which he built for himself as his London residence, attests at once his wealth and artistic taste.

Giles Fletcher, civilian, ambassador and poet, entered King's as a scholar in 1565. During the early part of his life he resided as a fellow, and played a prominent part in the attacks on Provost Goad. But in 1588 he made his

famous journey to Russia, where, though treated with much indignity, he secured substantial privileges for English merchants. His "History of Russia," with a description of contemporary manners and fashions—which has only recently become available to the student in its complete form—is the chief



King's College from the river.

authority in English of Russian conditions at that time. Later in life he became involved in an expensive lawsuit, and was granted by the College the lease of the great tithes of the Rectory of Ringwood, in Hampshire.

Phineas Fletcher, his son, entered King's in 1600. In 1614 he wrote "The Sicelides," a pastoral play, intended for the visit of King James, and performed ultimately in the College.

But two years later some friction with the authorities caused his withdrawal.

> "Not I my Chame, but me proud Chame refuses,
> His froward spites my strong affections sever,
> Else from his banks could I have parted never."

His *magnum opus* was "The Purple Island, or the Isle of Man," an allegory after Spenser's "Faery Queen," clumsy and overloaded in parts, yet discovering a rich melody and a singular charm of scenic description, together with a certain majesty in the personification of vice and virtue, which suggests Milton, who knew Fletcher well.

The age of the Stuarts contains but few Kingsmen of eminence, and these few were nearly all scholars, as contrasted with the distinguished fellow-commoners of the former period.

Two of them were theological politicians: Dr. Cowell, whose "Interpreter," published in 1607, in the early part of James I.'s reign, preached the doctrine of Absolute Monarchy with such unequivocal thoroughness that it was burned by the common hangman at the insistence of an indignant Parliament; and Richard Mountague, the vigorous Anglican Bishop, who made it his object in life "to stand in the gap between puritanism and popery, the Scylla and Charybdis of ancient piety," and whose two publications, "A New Gag for an Old Goose" (the goose of Romanism) and "Appello Caesarem," were the most eventful crises in a stormy life.

There was a third theologian of sterner

stuff, John Pearson, who, after a year at Queens' College, was admitted scholar of King's in 1632. Later he became Master of Jesus College, and afterwards of Trinity College. His *magnum opus*, which is, within its limits, the most perfect and complete production of English dogmatic theology, has perpetuated the writer in "Pearson on the Creed."

Edmund Waller, the poet, on the other hand, was a fellow-commoner. During the time of the Commonwealth he was in exile, owing to his share in the conspiracy named after him; but at the Restoration he returned, entered Parliament, and, although a total abstainer, was a great favourite at the courts of Charles and James II. Of his poetry it may be said that it marked the transition from Elizabeth to the Restoration—the smooth, rhyming couplet, unimaginative, forced, responding with alacrity to a pecuniary donation, too typical of the muse of contemporary England, to which the genius of "Paradise Lost," a work, Waller thought, which was only distinguished by its length, formed a solitary exception.

The third period opens with the most illustrious name of all, Sir Robert Walpole, the great peace minister of the early Georges, who was admitted in 1696 from Eton, which he had entered six years previously. Coxe says that he left Eton "an excellent scholar." He was only at Cambridge two years, during which time he had an attack of smallpox. His tenure of the Premiership, from 1721 to 1743,

secured for England twenty years of continuous peace, which she had not enjoyed since the time of Elizabeth. He was absolute master of the art of managing men, both in and out of Parliament; the first financier of his age—practical, tolerant, with a prodigious memory and an imperturbable temper. He reflected in his public life a native genius, rather than the graces of an acquired culture. A sporting squire, of loose and coarse habits, fond, indeed, of pictures, yet never putting his eyes to a book, "Bluff Bob" of Gay's opera, was a mighty business man. When he is accused of setting a corrupt standard in public affairs, it must be remembered that the Parliament of that time, all powerful in pretensions, yet neither wishing or meant to rule, was barely manageable by any other means. "All those men," he said of the patriots, "have their price." It was quite true, yet he was loudly condemned, like Machiavelli, for having the frankness to admit and to act upon it.

Lord Townshend, his brother-in-law and early colleague, was likewise educated at Eton and King's, which he entered as a fellow-commoner in 1690. A man of hot temper and moderate abilities, with their usual attendant a boundless confidence, conscientious and cultured, he was forced from public life by the able and more downright Walpole, and retired to his Norfolk estate of Rainham, where he conducted the agricultural experiments which gained him the name of "Turnip Townshend."

Horace Walpole, the son, fellow-commoner

from 1734–1739, was made of thinner stuff than his father. His political life amounted to little more than the enjoyment of several sinecures, and the literary championship of his father. But as a wit, a letter-writer, and a man of quality, he was at the head of his age. His novel, "The Castle of Otranto," and his creation of Strawberry Hill, near Twickenham, are the two achievements most frequently connected with his name. He had but little affection for his College and University, to which he thought the charms of Paris were highly preferable.

Charles Pratt, first Earl Camden, was admitted scholar in 1731. For many years a briefless barrister, he obtained his first case by a lucky chance, after which he rose rapidly to be Lord Chief-Justice and Lord Chancellor. As Chancellor he affirmed the illegality of general warrants in the case of John Wilkes, the notorious editor of the *North Briton*, and throughout his career he was fond of posing as champion of the popular liberties. He had a handsome, if languid person, and a character like unto it—a mixture of the indolent dilettante and temperate epicure.

Thomas Orde, afterwards Lord Bolton, came to King's some thirty years later. At Cambridge Orde studied the art of etching, and acquired a dangerous aptitude "in taking off any peculiarity of person"; however, he mollified his victims by presenting to them the profits of the picture. In after life he was Chief Secretary to the Duke of Rutland in Ireland. He was indeed good-looking, if the

picture of him which is in the College Hall, a copy from the original by Romney, is at all a faithful likeness.

Frederick, Earl of Carlisle, who entered King's as a fellow-commoner in 1764, was a fashionable politician and patron of letters. Byron, whose guardian he was, dedicated the second edition of "Hours of Idleness" to him; but irritated at the Earl's failure to support his interests with the Government, he substituted for a complimentary couplet in his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," which was at that time going through the press, the following bitter beginning:—

> "No muse will cheer with renovating smile
> The paralytic puling of Carlisle."

Archdeacon William Coxe was, like Giles Fletcher of Elizabethan times, a travelled litterateur. In 1771, three years after becoming a fellow, he became travelling tutor to a nobleman's sons, and published later the impressions gathered on his tours through Switzerland and Russia. He was a voluminous but rather dull writer, more a careful collector and editor than an author of independent thought. His history, however, of the House of Austria was long a standard work, and his many memoirs on contemporary politics threw interesting side-lights on eighteenth century history. He was among the first of English historians to appreciate the importance of foreign history.

Sir Vicary Gibbs, judge, was admitted scholar in 1771. As Attorney-General he

distinguished himself by the severity of his persecutions against the press. He was a little man, five feet four inches in height, and of a meagre frame. Possessing great legal knowledge, he was uniformly uncivil to his clients, wholly destitute of humour, and possessed so caustic and bitter a temper that he acquired the name of "Vinegar Gibbs."

The first half of this final period may be closed with the mention of three Kingsmen who were benefactors to their College and University. William Battie, the founder of the Battie Scholarship, who as an undergraduate beat Bentley of Trinity for the Craven Scholarship; Thomas James, the founder of the College prizes for Declamations, who for his work as head of Rugby School—which he raised from 60 to 245 boys—has been named "the creator of Rugby as it now is;" Robert Glynn, founder of the Glynn Prizes, a kindly eccentric doctor, who cured lepers in the fens and who, according to Horace Walpole, was a doting old physician, according to Lord Chatham, one of the cheerful and witty sons of Apollo.

The second half of this period may be called the age of Simeon: for in 1778 Charles Simeon entered King's as a scholar from Eton, and on November the 19th, 1836, he was buried in the College chapel. During the greater part of this period he resided in the College, holding in turn the offices of Dean, Bursar and Vice-Provost. Three months after his entrance Simeon passed through the profound mental change, which led him to a life of

piety and evangelical devotion. But, though so long in residence, he was never in close sympathy with the members of his own College, whether from his own strictness or from their indifference. Among other students, however, he was widely liked. Every Friday evening, in his own rooms over Gibbs's archway, he used to preside over "Conversation circles" composed of undergraduates, at which questions of faith and doctrine were sympathetically discussed. At other times he held gatherings of his parishioners and near friends in his own rooms or in theirs. Over most of those who knew him Simeon exercised a personal magnetism which made them his devoted disciples. As minister or perpetual curate of Holy Trinity Church from 1782 to 1836, he showed how patience could overcome the bitterest animosity. At first his parishioners locked the doors of their pews, and refused to allow their use by others; undergraduates disturbed the services, and he himself was threatened with violence in the streets. When he died in 1836 he was universally beloved. Simeon was a keen student. He rose every morning at four, and to keep himself from oversleeping gave half a crown to his servant whenever he exceeded. One morning, however, as he lay warm and comfortable, he reflected that half a crown would be very useful to the poor woman. But this fallacy was not to be tolerated. On the next occasion he bound himself instead to throw a guinea into the river; which he did once, but after that he transgressed no more. Simeon's chief

literary work was a collection of outlines of sermons ("Skeletons") on the whole Bible, entitled *Horæ Homileticæ*. They reflect very accurately his own character, full of a faith so intense as to be hard of comprehension, yet straightforward, direct, and shrinking from the ornate. But his influence was most potent as a reformer of Church appointments and pioneer of missionary enterprise. He established and endowed a body of trustees for acquiring Church patronage, and for making appointments in accordance with his own views of fitness. These are the "Simeon trustees," who control many livings at the present day. And, along with his friend Henry Martyn, he instituted the Indian chaplaincies, the forerunners of the Church Missionary Society, which he helped to establish in 1795. Simeon, however, was no ascetic. He was an excellent horseman: he sometimes lost his temper: and he was fond of a good dinner. Mr. Tucker relates an amusing anecdote. One day Simeon gave an order to the cook for a large dinner, in which there was to be a particular delicacy containing veal. After having walked five or six steps away from the office, he suddenly went back, and said in an impressive voice, "Be sure, Mr. Lawrence, that it is a female."

In 1806 three friends entered King's together—Stratford Canning, first Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, the strenuous and long-lived Eastern Ambassador; John Lonsdale, the scholarly and capable Bishop of Lichfield; and Thomas Rennell, a theologian of undoubted talents and

prodigious acquirements, who was deeply concerned with the necessity of reforming the College, but unfortunately for it died at the early age of thirty-seven.

John Bird Sumner, the one Archbishop of Canterbury educated at King's College, became a fellow in 1801, after a distinguished undergraduate career. As archbishop he presided rather weakly over the celebrated "Gorham Case." He was, in Bishop Wilberforce's words, "good, gentle, loving, and weak," a far different character from his disgusted subordinate, Dr. Phillpotts, the impetuous Bishop of Exeter.

Capel Lofft, who entered King's in 1824, and two years later obtained the Craven Scholarship, the highest honour then open to Kingsmen, was a man of a serious, introspective turn of mind. Like Robert Owen, the social reformer, he was led in after-life to embrace wild political theories, which he published in a poem, "Ernest, the Rule of Right," a tale representing the growth, struggles, and triumphs of Chartism.

Among the judges of this period, it is usually possible to find a Kingsman or two. Among others may be mentioned here Chief-Justice Mansfield, Sir Henry Dampier, and Sir John Patteson.

Yet though in these last two centuries of College history the roll is never absolutely bare, there is little doubt that the College failed to maintain the prominent position, which certainly it occupied in the age of the Tudors, and which perhaps it occupies to-day.

It was not until the reformation and expansion of the College in the latter half of the nineteenth century that Kingsmen, as a college, once again began to take a worthy part in the intellectual life of the University. Of the recent distinctions it is not here the place to speak. Some of the actors are still living; and their work awaits the judgment of a later age. Two only shall be mentioned whose memory is still green, Henry Bradshaw, Librarian of the University, who lived through and played no light part in the era of change; and J. K. Stephen, whose youth of brilliant promise was cut short by a tragic accident.

If Kingsmen have something to regret in the history of their society, they have much of which they may be proud. If King's sacrificed itself in the past for Eton, it has the future in which to live for itself. If fame is now harder to acquire because won from a wider circle, the society gains more than the individual loses, and all may hope.

APPENDIX[1]

THE WINDOWS OF KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL

By M. R. JAMES, LITT.D., *Provost of King's College*

WHAT I have to say will divide itself conveniently into two main sections—one, the history of the windows, the other, their subjects and style. Before I can begin dealing with either, however, I must ask you to take stock briefly of the extent of the subject with which we are to deal. The windows with which we are concerned are twenty-five in number. Twelve are on each side of the chapel, and one at the east end. And in order to prevent confusion in the future I will ask you to keep in mind this additional fact. The south-eastern window of the chapel was originally only half the size of the others. It reached down to the level of the transom or cross-bar; the rest was blind panelling. This was because a building was designed by the founder to abut on to the chapel at that point. It was, in fact, actually begun, and in old prints of the College the beginnings may be seen represented. But when the screen which shuts off the College from the street was built—that is, in the year 1827—the ruinous unfinished building was cleared away and the lower half of the window opened out. The old glass was subsequently moved down to the lower half of the window, and in 1845 the upper half was filled with

[1] This Appendix consists of extracts from an address on the windows delivered in the Chapel some years ago by Dr. James.

the glass which now occupies it. The great west window, moreover, was never filled with painted glass. It remained glazed with clear glass until the year 1879, when Messrs. Clayton & Bell were employed to place in it the glass which you now see there. To speak accurately, therefore, out of twenty-six great windows in the chapel, twenty-four and a half contain ancient glass; the exceptions are the west window and the upper half of the south-east window. It will not be possible for me to deal with the smaller remains of glass which are in the side chapels. We will confine ourselves to the great upper windows.

The extent of our material having been thus defined, I will lay before you the main facts in its history.

There is no particular injunction as to the glazing of the windows in the very full directions laid down by the founder, King Henry VI., for the construction of the chapel. It is not until long after his death, in fact not until Henry VIII. had been for some years on the throne, that we find any real step taken. Nothing, however, could well have been done earlier. Interrupted by the long Civil War, the building of the church had dragged slowly on from 1446 to 1515. Not until the latter year was the stonework finished, and to the same year belongs our first record of the windows. It is a memorandum that £100 are to be paid in advance to Barnard Flower, the king's glazier. In all likelihood Flower would have been employed to execute all the windows, but he died, seemingly in 1525 or 1526, having only finished four. The College had therefore to resort to another firm; and in fact we have two contracts with glaziers made within a few days of each other in the year 1526, on which we must spend a few moments.

The first is an agreement with four glass workers

all resident in London. Their names are Galyon Hone, of St. Mary Magdalene's parish in Southwark; Richard Bownde, of St. Clement Danes; Thomas Reve, of St. Sepulchre, Newgate; and James "Nycholson," of St. Thomas's in Southwark.

The windows they are to glaze are eighteen in number, viz., the east window, the west window, and sixteen others. And the work desired is to be executed:

"with good, clene, sure, and perfyte glasse" ("Normandy glasse" was written at first and then struck out), "and oryent colours and imagery of the story of the old lawe and of the newe lawe" (*i.e.* the O.T. and N.T.), "after the fourme, maner, goodenes, curyousytie, and clenelynes, in every poynt of the kynge's newe chapell at Westmynster" (*i.e.* Henry VII.'s Chapel). "And also accordingly and after suche maner as oon Barnard Flower, glasyer, late deceessed, by indenture stode bounde to doo." This contract was on the 30th of April. On the 3rd of May a precisely similar agreement was entered into with another firm consisting of two men, Fraunces "Wyllyamson," of St. Olaves, Southwark, and Symond "Symondes," of St. Margaret's, Westminster. This contract provided for four windows, two on each side of the chapel. The cost of the glass was to be 1s. 4d. per foot, and the work was to be completed (and so far as we know *was* completed) within five years, that is by May 1531. These contracts, then, provide for the glazing of the east and west windows—the latter of which was never carried out—and twenty out of the twenty-four side windows, leaving us to suppose that four of these side windows had been already finished by Barnard Flower.

Can we tell anything of the men who were employed to carry out this enormous work? Taking

Flower first, we may guess with some probability that as the king's glazier he had been employed largely in making the glass for Henry VII.'s Chapel, which was taken as a model in quality, and very likely also in subject for the windows here. Of that glass only a single panel remains at Westminster—a fragmentary figure of a prophet; so that we are reduced to picking out by conjecture the work of Flower in this chapel. It might be guessed that he would have put in the first four windows of the series; but this very plausible idea is put out of court by the fact that in the first window—that in the north-west corner—the date 1527 is found, and we know that Flower was dead in 1526. One window we can assign to him with more confidence. It is that over the organ loft on the north side. At the bottom is what is usually, and I think rightly, read as a date in Arabic figures 15017. This may quite legitimately be read as 1517, for nothing is commoner in ancient figure-writing than to find the 0 inserted where it has neither business nor meaning. It is also probable, to my thinking, that the window over the north door is Flower's work, for it differs slightly in arrangement from all the others, and has an aspect far more mediæval and less redolent of the Renaissance. We can only guess at the other two; but I am fairly confident that they are all to be looked for in the north side of the chapel. The firm of four men, Hone, Bownde, Reve, and Nicholson who filled the east window and sixteen side windows, have their best monument here. There is no reason to doubt that they were all Englishmen; but we have information about two of them, Hone and Nicholson. Hone is described as making glass—chiefly heraldic—in 1539–40 for Hampton Court, and he had then succeeded Flower in the position of king's glazier. As to Nicholson, in 1519 he had been working at

Great St. Mary's Church; and it has been thought that he is the James Nicholson who was printing English bibles and other books in Southwark ten years after the date of the contract. The third firm, Williamson and Symonds, seem to have been Flemings. The former signs himself Willemzoen and the latter Simenon. But this fact, interesting as it is, is not of much importance as regards the designing of the windows, for the contract stipulates that Williamson and Symonds were to procure the designs from Messrs. Hone & Co. They seem therefore to have been only workmen and not designers. Hone and his fellows are to be held primarily responsible for all but four of the ancient windows.

Of the subsequent history of the glass up to the present day I need not say much. No radical changes have taken place in it since it was first put up. It has been four or five times wholly or partially releaded, but I need not stop to give you the dates at which this was done. On two episodes only I must dwell very shortly. The first is the treatment of the glass during the Civil Wars. When so many acres of similar glass perished, why and how were these enormous pictures, many of them redolent of Mariolatry, spared? It is certain at least—and this point I would beg you to bear in mind—that the windows were never removed. In the last century there was a tradition that the west window was broken by Cromwell's soldiers, and that thereupon the rest of the glass was taken out and concealed inside the organ screen. Nowadays a story is current, embodied in a novel called the *Chorister*, that all the glass was buried in pits hastily prepared in the college grounds. It was taken down and placed in these pits in one night by a man and a boy. Both of these stories are absolute fictions. What we know is that

William Dowsing, the agent for destruction in these parts, who visited the chapel, notes in his diary that there were 1000 superstitious pictures to be destroyed, received his statutable fee of 6s. 8d. and retired, not to return. It is most probable that Cromwell, anxious to have at least one of the universities on his side, gave some special order that no wilful damage should be wrought on this building, which, then as now, was the pride of Cambridge and of all the country round.

The other episode is the restoration of the windows in the present century. Between the years 1841 and 1849 a glazier called John Hedgeland was employed not only to put glass into the upper half of the south-eastern window, but also to reload the windows in the choir. Those which he restored were the five easternmost windows on the north side, and the six easternmost (including the half window) on the south. Most unfortunately this person did not confine himself to necessary repairs. He removed a good deal of the old glass—notably a great many heads—and replaced them by work of his own. This explains the presence in these choir windows of a large number of foolish pink smiling faces, and unnaturally fresh and distinct inscriptions. Attention was fortunately called to the mischief that was being done, and the remaining windows escaped. It became necessary, however, in recent years to take measures for the safety of the unrestored windows, which had not been touched since 1765. In 1893 the College put the work into the hands of Mr. Kempe, whose name inspires confidence at once, and since then a window has been releaded every year. The work is simply one of reparation. The lead and ironwork are renewed, displacements are set right, and gaps, if any exist, are filled with glass of a neutral tint.

So much for the history of the windows. We must now turn to the subjects represented in them. In unity of plan, this series has but one rival in importance in this country, namely the windows at Fairford in Gloucestershire. There, as here, a definite scheme of subjects has been sketched out, executed, and allowed to remain. You have apostles and prophets in the aisles, persecutors and saints in the clerestory, the Life of Christ in the chancel, and the Last Judgment in the western windows. In most other churches, English and foreign alike, it is difficult to trace a coherent scheme running through the building. The several windows are usually the gifts of separate donors who like to commemorate themselves or their own patron saints. It is only in the clerestories and the choir windows that a well-marked and uniform set of subjects is allowed to appear. Commonly we have prophets and apostles in the former, and the story of the Passion in the latter. But here at King's a regular sequence of pictures is present, running from the first window to the last. It begins and ends with the Life of the Virgin, and intermediately the Life of Christ and the history of the Apostles are treated. With a few exceptions the representations of the events of the New Testament are illustrated by types drawn from the Old. This much being premised, I will set forth one very important matter—all-important, indeed, to those who wish to understand the glass—the arrangement of the individual windows. Look at any one of the side windows: you see at the top of each a number of small openings—lights is the technical name, which I shall use in all cases. Fourteen or fifteen of these have in them heraldic badges of different kinds. At the summit you will always find the Royal Arms as borne by Henry VII., and the rest of the badges, crowns, portcullises, hawthorn bushes and the like,

are all appropriate to Henry VII. There are also initials H. E. (Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York) and H. K. for Henry VIII. as Prince of Wales, and Katherine of Aragon. These badges, repeated in various proportions, run all round the side windows. They are all the work of one artist or firm, and they must all have been put up at one time, very likely before any other glass was made for the chapel. It is at least clear that the initials of Henry and Katherine of Aragon could not have been put up at a time when the king's divorce was being publicly agitated; that is, not later than 1527. It is very possible that all this glass was made by Barnard Flower. It is rough work in some cases, yet very skilful, and wonderfully good considering the amount of repetition that there is in it. Below these small lights you have five tall lights, a crossbar or transom, and five more tall lights. Take the central light first. It contains four figures, or half figures, one above another. Each of these carries either an inscribed scroll or a tablet. Two of them are usually angels; the others are prophets or priests. The name commonly given to these figures is *Messengers*. They carry inscriptions explanatory of the pictures on either side of them. The designs of these figures, of which there are 94 in all, are repeated from time to time. A careful classification of the types might be made to yield some evidence as to which windows are the work of each of the firms employed; but I am bound to say that though I have tried the plan, I have not satisfied myself. I need say no more at this moment about the Messengers; but I must ask you to remember quite clearly that in trying to make out the pictures in these windows, you must take no account of the figures in the middle light, from top to bottom.

We have eliminated the top lights and the middle

light. There remain four pair of lights, two above and two below the crossbar. Each pair of lights contains a picture: four pictures go to a window. In most cases the two lower pictures illustrate two scenes in the New Testament history, and the two upper ones give types of these scenes drawn from the O.T. or elsewhere. That is the general arrangement of each window. There are exceptions, but I will reserve them until they require notice. The order of the windows, by the way, is simple and obvious. The first is at the north-west. We proceed eastward to the east window, and then westward, ending with the west window.

Now we will, if you please, deal rather more in detail with one or two of the windows. I shall take one on each side of the chapel, and the east window. I begin with the window that stands fourth from the east on the north side. In the two lower left-hand lights is the picture of the Last Supper. The space at the disposal of the artist renders it impossible for him to arrange it quite in the ordinary and conventional way. Our Lord is not the central figure. He is in the left-hand light. He has risen from the seat and is placing the sop in the mouth of Judas Iscariot, who is bending over from the right to receive it. You will see that in accordance with a common mediæval practice Judas is represented as red haired. It was one of the beliefs of mediæval physiognomists that red-haired people were specially prone to treachery and deceit. The type of this picture is in the two lights immediately above it—the fall of the manna. The point of the selection lies in the words of our Lord in John vi.: "Not as your fathers did eat manna and are dead; he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever." You have here a good specimen of Hedgeland's insertions in the head of the woman who is seated in the foreground.

In the right-hand lights at the bottom is the "Agony in the Garden." In this and a few of the other scenes from the Passion you may easily recognise a different hand. The figures here are smaller than elsewhere; there is a roundness in their heads, and they have haloes or nimbi, which are of comparatively rare occurrence in these windows. I suspect the truth is that all large glass makers must have constantly kept in stock sets of scenes from the Passion which were always in request. This was not the case with the types from the O.T. They had to be specially drawn for these windows, and there is more uniformity perceptible in them than in the N.T. pictures.

The type of the Agony is the "Fall of the Angels," a picture very rich in colour and interesting in design. At the top is the Father throned, on the *l.*; on the *r.* are angels—those who did not fall—praising Him. There was a belief, you may know, that a tenth of the angels had fallen, and that man was created to fill the void created thereby. The nine orders of the unfallen angels are often compared by ancient divines to the nine pieces of silver in the parable that were not lost, or the ninety-nine sheep who did not stray. Man is the lost piece of silver, or the lost sheep. Then, below the feet of the Father, Michael is seen thrusting down the rebellious angels, and you will note that the lower they fall the more monstrous and demoniac their form becomes.

It is not quite obvious at first why the Fall of Angels is chosen to typify the Agony in the Garden. It is, I think, because on two occasions just before the Passion our Lord speaks of the power of evil as being overcome. "Now is the judgment of this world: now is the prince of this world cast out," and again, "because the prince of

this world is judged." Another reason is possible. In some of the books from which these types were taken, the Agony in the Garden is coupled with the incident of the men who were sent to arrest Christ falling backwards to the ground, and the fall of the rebel angels is in these books the type of the latter incident. Perhaps the designer of these windows, having such a book before him, made a slight error in his choice of the subject.

That is a specimen of a window whose arrangement is quite normal. Now turn to the east window. It proves an exception to the rule I have laid down, and naturally, because it differs from the rest so greatly in size. The heraldry in the tracery, to begin with, is unique. Here and nowhere else in the glass you have the "Dragon of the great Pendragonship" holding a banner with the arms of Henry VII. Here alone also you have the ostrich feather of the Prince of Wales, and the motto *Ich Dien*. Below, instead of five vertical divisions, there are nine. There are no messengers with inscriptions and no types, only six scenes from the Passion, beginning at the bottom *l.* corner, and each of them occupying not two lights but three. In the first three lights below the transom is the Ecce Homo, easily decipherable. In the centre three, Pilate washing his hands; the decisive moment in the trial. Here the figure of Christ, with his back to the spectator. In the three on the *r.* is the Bearing of the Cross. In this you will see two non-biblical additions to the scene. There is Veronica kneeling and offering to our Lord the kerchief to wipe His face. As you know, the story went that the likeness of His face was miraculously impressed upon the linen cloth, and it is now one of the four great relics preserved in the piers of the dome of St. Peter's at Rome. You will also see that our Lord bears attached by

a cord to His waist a tablet of wood covered with spikes, meant to increase the pain and difficulty of His walking. It is a striking example of the way in which the later mediæval thought loved to dwell upon and emphasise the pains of Christ in His passion. In the art of the Catacombs the Passion is practically never represented at all. The earliest Christians portrayed over and over again the miracles of healing and of life-giving and creative power. In this chapel, with the single exception of the Raising of Lazarus, there is no incident shown between the Temptation and the last Entry into Jerusalem. The Ministry is totally omitted.

Above the transom you see in the *l.* three lights, the Nailing to the Cross. In the *c.*, the most conspicuous object in all the chapel, Christ crucified between the thieves. At the *r.* the body taken down from the Cross. In the *r.* upper corner a *red* mass of landscape is thought to be a naïve representation of the Field of Blood. The whole window vies with any in existence for dignity and splendour. A coloured engraving of it done in the early part of the century by one Baldrey is very commonly to be met with ; but though the composition is not incorrectly rendered, the artist has made one capital mistake in entirely omitting to represent the leadwork in any way.

Take next a window on the south side—the fifth from the east. The two lower scenes represent the appearance of Christ at Emmaus. In the first He is disguised as a wayfarer, and meets the two disciples, who do not recognise Him. In the distance is the "castle" of Emmaus. In the second picture—on the *r.* hand—is the moment of recognition. "He was known unto them in the breaking of bread," it is said in the Gospel, and the mediæval

mind construed this to mean that there was a peculiarity in His habitual manner of breaking bread. He broke it, they said, quite evenly in half as if it had been cut with a knife; and this you will see is shown plainly in the window. The broken surface of the bread is absolutely smooth and even.

For types we have two scenes from the Apocrypha. One shows the angel Raphael meeting the young Tobias and offering himself to be his companion on the journey to Rages. The angel in the story was disguised as a man, and did not reveal himself until the youth returned home. Herein lies the point of the comparison. The other is from the story of Bel and the Dragon. The prophet Habakkuk, about to carry food to the reapers in Judæa, is caught up by an angel and carried off to Babylon, where he gives the food to Daniel, who is confined in the lion's den. The appropriateness of this type must lie in the unexpected appearance and sudden vanishing of the prophet, which is likened to that of our Lord at Emmaus. The inscriptions in the window are a curious instance of careless work. They do not refer at all to the subjects represented in the adjacent lights but to four scenes from the Acts of the Apostles, three of which occur in a later window where the inscriptions are repeated, while the fourth has no picture to it at all.

I believe I have now said enough to put you in possession of the general arrangement of the windows. I must go on to say something more of their subjects. The first of the whole series (at the north-west) is not arranged on the principle of type and antitype. It contains four consecutive scenes illustrating the Birth of the Virgin. The scene whence the story is ultimately derived is a very early fiction, perhaps written in the second century, and attributed to

James, the brother of the Lord. The common name for it is the Protevangelium. The story of the Virgin's birth and parentage passed from it through various channels into the offices of the Roman Church, and is perpetuated in thousands of representations in art. Joachim and Anne, rich, old, and childless, are rejected because of their childlessness when they come to make an offering in the temple. That is the beginning of the story, and the first scene in the window. In their grief they separate, but are consoled by angels, meet again, and the Virgin is born. The appearance of the angel to Joachim among his shepherds, the meeting of Joachim and Anne, and the birth of the Virgin, are the remaining scenes in the first window. With the second we begin the series of type and antitype. The Virgin is presented by her parents at the temple, and takes up her abode there. The type of this you will seek in vain in the Bible. It represents two fishermen bringing a golden table to the Temple of the Sun, and the story is an elaborate mediæval perversion of a tale derived from Valerius Maximus, a Roman writer, and author of a large collection of historical anecdotes. This second window is unlike any of the others both in style and arrangement. In style it has more of the Gothic and less of the Renaissance feeling. In arrangement it stands alone, because under the principal scenes there is a series of small figures, some of which carry scrolls alluding to other types of the scenes represented. One for instance has on it, "Jephthah offered his Daughter to the Lord," a type of the Presentation of the Virgin. And this window is unhesitatingly assigned by one of the best writers on the subject to Barnard Flower.

In the third window I would call your attention to the type of the Annunciation. It is Eve tempted

by the Serpent. It is in fact rather a contrast than a type. Sin entered into the world by means of a woman, Eve ; and by a woman, Mary, salvation also entered. A great deal, too, was made of the fact that Gabriel's first word to Mary, *Ave* (Hail), is the reversal of the letters of the name *Eva*.

I do not call your attention to anything more on the north side at present. We come to the south-east window. I have already explained that the upper half of it is modern, and incredibly bad. I add now that in the old glass in the lower half, the type is placed side by side with the antitype, not above it. Great stress is laid in the windows on the south side upon the Resurrection and appearances of Christ. Four whole windows are devoted to this period of the Gospel history. Then, after the Ascension and Pentecost, which occupy one window, we have what is very uncommon in earlier mediæval art, a series of subjects occupying three whole windows from the Acts of the Apostles. There are no types in these windows; the scenes are consecutive, and in the selection of them I have always suspected the influence of the Reformation theology. Eight scenes are devoted to the life of St. Paul, the hero of the Reformers. It has been pointed out that in the wording of some of the inscriptions the influence of Erasmus's version is perceptible, and that Erasmus was resident in Cambridge when the windows were put up. In two of the scenes — the Death of Ananias, and Paul and Barnabas at Lystra—the artist had evidently had the Cartoons of Raphael in his mind, though neither scene is an exact copy of a cartoon. These windows, I think it cannot be doubted, are among the latest in the chapel. The technique shows signs of haste, and the burning has been imperfectly done.

With the two western windows on the south side we return to the Life of the Virgin, her death, funeral, assumption, and coronation. These are among the hardest to decipher in the chapel, and it has often been said that because they savoured of Popery they were wilfully damaged by Cromwell's soldiery. However, the examination we made of them at the time when they were releaded does not bear out this belief. We came to the conclusion that the breakages were purely accidental, and that the damage was chiefly due to unintelligent replacing of glass by persons who did not understand what the pictures meant.

You will like to know perhaps something of the sources upon which the artists drew for their selection of types. There were a great many books in use from the twelfth century onwards, which dealt with the correspondences between the Old and New Testaments. Two which were especially popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were undoubtedly used by the designer of these windows. They are famous books in the history of printing, having both appeared as block-books, but they are also common as manuscripts. One is the *Biblia Pauperum*, the Poor Man's Bible, the other the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, the Mirror of Human Salvation. Out of thirty-nine types which appear in these windows, twenty or twenty-two occur in the *Biblia Pauperum*. Six are peculiar to the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*. Some ten or eleven scenes in our windows correspond to neither.

A great deal more might be said about the sources whence the composition of the pictures are derived. There has been a good deal of wild talk about foreign influence—Albert Dürer and Holbein and the like. We have seen cases where a work of Raphael has been before the artist, and parallelisms

between our glass and the designs in Holbein's Bible cuts can be readily pointed out. I have no wish to deny that the designers were familiar with a good many foreign works, and that two of the workmen were Flemings. But the fact remains that the bulk of the work is English, designed and executed by Englishmen in England. And it is only accident and the excesses of foolish men which have deprived us of the means of realising the possibility of this earlier. Still, there are specimens of similar work in English churches. At St. James's Church, Bury St. Edmunds, one window is filled with fragments of old glass of just the period and style of these windows. At the parish church of Basingstoke, and in the house not far off called the Vyne, are large portions of somewhat later glass, all English and of the highest quality.

In conclusion, it would be idle in the presence of these magnificent decorations to attempt a panegyric of their splendour and beauty. They speak to the eye at once. All that is wanted to make them speak to the mind, too, is a little patience, a little sympathy, and a modicum of preliminary information. With this last requisite I have been trying so far as I could to provide you.

NOTE.—In the foregoing pages I have not taken sufficient account of the strong probability that (*a*) Barnard Flower at his death may have left a large quantity of work in a more or less finished state, and that (*b*) the firms subsequently employed may have been working for him for some time before his death.

During the year 1906 a Flemish inscription has been found upon window VI., which is dated 1517, and is commonly assigned to Barnard Flower.

SUBJECTS OF THE WINDOWS

(*Each subject occupies two lights ; the central light is omitted.*)

l., left-hand ; *r.*, right-hand.

NORTH SIDE FROM WEST

I.

Upper l. . . Rejection of Joachim's Offering.
Upper r. . . Angel appears to Joachim.
Lower l. . . Joachim and Anne meet at the Golden Gate.
Lower r. . . Birth of the Virgin.

II.

Lower l. . . Presentation of the Virgin.
Upper l. . . The Golden Table offered in the Temple of the Sun.
Lower r. . . Marriage of the Virgin and Joseph.
Upper r. . . Marriage of Tobias and Sara.

III.

Lower l. . . Annunciation.
Upper l. . . Eve tempted by the Serpent.
Lower r. . . Nativity.
Upper r. . . The Burning Bush.

IV.

Lower l. . . Circumcision of Christ.
Upper l. . . Circumcision of Isaac.
Lower r. . . Adoration of the Magi.
Upper r. . . The Queen of Sheba visits Solomon.

V.

Lower l. . . Purification of the Virgin.
Upper l. . . Purification of Women under the Law.
Lower r. . . Flight into Egypt.
Upper r. . . Flight of Jacob from Esau.

VI.

Lower l. . . Fall of the Idols in Egypt.
Upper l. . . The Golden Calf.
Lower r. . . Massacre of the Innocents.
Upper r. . . Athaliah slays the seed Royal.

VII.

Lower l. . . Baptism of Christ.
Upper l. . . Naaman in Jordan.
Lower r. . . Temptation of Christ.
Upper r. . . Esau sells his birthright.

VIII.

Lower l. . . Raising of Lazarus.
Upper l. . . Elisha raises the Shunammite's Son.
Lower r. . . Entry into Jerusalem.
Upper r. . . The Triumph of David.

IX.

Lower l. . . Last Supper.
Upper l. . . The Manna.
Lower r. . . Agony in the Garden.
Upper r. . . Fall of the Angels.

X.

Lower l. . . Betrayal.
Upper l. . . Death of Abel.
Lower r. . . Christ mocked.
Upper r. . . Shimei and David.

XI.

Lower l. . . Christ before the High Priest.
Upper l. . . Jeremiah imprisoned.
Lower r. . . Christ before Herod.
Upper r. . . Shame of Noah.

XII.

Lower l. . . Christ scourged.
Upper l. . . Job tormented by demons and by his wife.
Lower r. . . Christ crowned with thorns.
Upper r. . . The bridegroom in *Canticles* crowned (Cant. iii. 11).

EAST WINDOW

XIII.

Lower l.	(3 lights)	*Ecce Homo!*
Centre	,,	Pilate washing his hands.
Lower r.	,,	Bearing the Cross. Veronica.
Upper l.	,,	Christ nailed to the Cross.
Centre	,,	The Crucifixion with thieves, centurion, &c.
Upper r.	,,	Deposition.

SOUTH SIDE FROM EAST

XIV.

Upper half	The Brazen Serpent (by Hedgeland, 1845).
Lower r. . .	The Pietà (mourning over Christ).
Lower l. . .	Naomi bewails her husband.

XV.

Lower l. . .	Entombment.
Upper l. . .	Joseph cast into the pit.
Lower r. . .	Descent into Hell.
Upper r. . .	The Exodus.

XVI.

Lower l. . .	Resurrection.
Upper l. . .	Jonah cast up.
Lower r. . .	Christ appears to the Virgin.
Upper r. . .	Tobias returning met by his mother Anna.

XVII.

Lower l. . .	The women at the Sepulchre.
Upper l. . .	Reuben finds the pit empty.
Lower r. . .	The appearance to Mary Magdalene.
Upper r. . .	Darius finds Daniel alive in the Den.

XVIII.

Lower l. . .	The meeting on the way to Emmaus.
Upper l. . .	Raphael meets Tobias.
Lower r. . .	The supper at Emmaus.
Upper r. . .	Habakkuk feeds Daniel in the Den.

XIX.

Lower l. . . Incredulity of Thomas.
Upper l. . . Return of the Prodigal Son.
Lower r. . . Christ appears to the Apostles.
Upper r. . . Joseph welcomes Jacob in Egypt.

XX.

Lower l. . . Ascension.
Upper l. . . Translation of Elijah.
Lower r. . . Pentecost.
Upper r. . . Giving of the Law.

XXI.

Lower l. . . The Apostles going to the Temple.
Upper l. . . Peter and John heal the lame man.
Lower r. . . Death of Ananias.
Upper r. . . The Apostles arrested and scourged.

XXII.

Upper l. . . Conversion of Paul.
Upper r. . . Paul disputing at Damascus, and let down from the wall.
Lower l. . . Paul and Barnabas at Lystra.
Lower r. . . Paul stoned at Lystra.

XXIII.

Upper l. . . Paul casting out the spirit of divination at Philippi.
Lower l. . . Paul saying farewell at Miletus.
Upper r. . . Paul before the chief captain.
Lower r. . . Paul before the Emperor.

XXIV.

Lower l. . . Death of the Virgin.
Upper l. . . Death of Tobit.
Lower r. . . Funeral of the Virgin. Jews attack the bier; their hands are miraculously struck off.
Upper r. . . Funeral of Jacob.

XXV.

Lower l. . . Assumption of the Virgin.
Upper l. . . Translation of Enoch.
Lower r. . . Coronation of the Virgin.
Upper r. . . Solomon places Bathsheba beside him.

WEST WINDOW

XXVI.

(Modern) . . The Last Judgment (by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, 1879).

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